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HISTORY

OF

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

JOHN FLETCHER HURST

V. I, Pt. I

VOLUME I

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
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1897

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HISTORY

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

OF THE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL
CHURCH IN AMERICA

BY
JOHN FLETCHER HUNT

V. 1

VOLUME I

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The second volume of Bishop Hurst's HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH is in advanced preparation, and is expected to be put to press in 1898. Dr. Rishell's work on the Evidences of Christianity is approaching completion. A few other works will follow these, in order to complete the circle of fundamental theological science as originally contemplated by the Publishers and Editors.

The reception which has been accorded these works has been so prompt, cordial, and sympathetic that the Publishers are led to believe that the Christian public is satisfied that the pledges made at the outset have been faithfully kept.

In every treatise in the future, as in those of the past, the latest literature will be recognized and its results incorporated. May we not hope that the same generous favor with which members of all evangelical denominations have regarded the undertaking from the beginning will be continued throughout the series?

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PREFACE.

THE following History of the Christian Church had its origin in a series of lectures delivered to successive classes of theological students during a period of nearly ten years—1871 to 1880. The material has constantly passed through various stages of revision, such as an instructor in ecclesiastical history naturally finds forced upon him by the new light steadily falling upon his path from the rich and growing literature of his beautiful science.

When the question arose as to the publication of the matter in hand it soon became apparent that the work would need a new and more critical treatment, with a full recognition of the most recent priceless and stimulating accessions to former historical treasures. Many are the revisals of judgment, the illuminations of obscure fields, and the revelations of old but buried documents which a single decade brings to pass. It was a surprise, if not an encouragement, to be confronted by the dilemma either to abandon all thought of publication or to so change the material as to produce an entirely new treatment. The latter has been done. The basis of the original work has been so nearly dropped in the present that there are few reminders of its original structure. The lectures, therefore, of nearly a decade—from 1871 to 1880—have proved to be the mere suggestions, and sometimes faint at best, of the present work. My chief difficulty has been to do even tolerable justice to the law of proportion. Some themes, which twenty years ago could have been treated briefly, to-day well deserve a whole volume; while others, which were prominent figures in the foreground, are now only dim figures in the distant horizon.

With thanks and appreciation the author takes pleasure in acknowledging the valuable services of the Rev. John Alfred Faulkner, B.D., in various portions of the work, and especially in the Mediæval period. In the Bibliography the Rev. Charles R. Gillett, B.D., has rendered valuable assistance; while the Rev. Albert Osborn, B.D., has given the benefit of his critical skill in aiding to carry the work through the press. The maps have been prepared by Mr. Alan C. Reiley, whose acquaintance was made some years

ago in Athens, and who of all American cartographers is believed by the author to carry into his science the finest historical sense.

The History will be complete in two volumes. The present one covers the periods of the Early and Mediæval Church, and concludes with the beginning of the Reformation. The second volume, which will treat the Reformation and bring the History down to the present time, is already in an advanced stage of preparation, and may be expected to appear in 1898. It will contain a minute index to the whole work.

During the preparation of the History the needs and tastes of both the student and the general reader have been constantly in mind. Church history is always reaching farther, and now touches the boundaries of all sciences. No period of political history can be described properly without the recognition of the religious and ecclesiastical elements. During great stretches of what may seem to be only the play of passions on questions of dynasty or balance of power, when sifted thoroughly, it will be found, as in England from James II to William of Orange, that the one supreme and vitalizing question was the final supremacy of the Protestant or Roman Catholic principle. He is a wise reader who can discern the proper boundary of the domain over which he travels. Wiser still is he who has the vision and the skill to measure the rapid widening of the field of ecclesiastical history. But happiest of all is he who, young in years and passionate in his love of the light from the past, sees in all history the divine hand, which has been steadily leading the people of all lands and ages toward a happy destiny.

Washington, D. C., March 1, 1897.

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5. Sonnenschein, W. S. *The Best Books,* imp. 8vo, pp. cix, 1009, 2d ed. Lond. and N. Y., 1891. A miracle of accuracy and industry. Supplementary volume, 1895.
6. Hurst, J. F. *Literature of Theology,* N. Y., 1895. Designed to be a systematic and exhaustive bibliography of the best and most desirable books in Theology and General Religious Literature published in Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada.

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10. McGiffert, A. C. *The Historical Study of Christianity*. In *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1893, pp. 150-171.

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IV.

SECULAR HISTORIES.

In the study of Church History the secular histories are as important in their way as the ecclesiastical histories. Gibbon is invaluable; for the investigation of Eastern Christianity Finlay is indispensable; and no better guide in the Church affairs of Scotland can be had than Burton's great work. The kingdom of God mingles itself with the currents of this world, and the world has

mightily influenced the Church. From the standpoint of the Christian all secular history is sacred. A few of these histories are mentioned.

1. Gibbon, E. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith. N. Y., 6 vols., 1880. Although first published in 1776-88, it has lost but little of its original value. It was founded on a critical study of all the sources available. Best ed., with revisions and additions by J. B. Bury. Lond. and N. Y., 1896 ff.
2. Macaulay, T. B. *History of England from the Accession of James II to the Death of William III*. Revised ed., 1857, and after. A brilliant history composed with an intense love for liberty and constitutional progress; in the main accurate and reliable. The treatment of W. Penn must be corrected by Forster's W. Penn and T. B. Macaulay. Lond., 1849; Paget's Inquiry into the Evidence of the Charges Brought by Lord Macaulay against W. Penn. Edinb., 1858; Paget's New Examen into Passages of Lord Macaulay's History. Lond., 1861; W. H. Dixon's W. Penn, 2d ed. Lond., 1853; and Stoughton's W. Penn. Lond., 1882.
3. Merivale, C. *History of the Romans under the Empire*. Lond., 1850-62; new ed., 1890, 8 vols. A work of great merit.
4. Lingard, J. *History of England from the Earliest Times to 1688*. Lond., 1819-30, 6th ed., revised and enlarged, 1855, 10 vols. A work of solid qualities, written by the use of original documents. Lingard was a liberal-minded Roman Catholic, and his work is written with rare impartiality.
5. Tytler, P. F. *A History of Scotland from 1149 to 1603*. 9 vols. Lond., 1840-43.
6. Burton, J. H. *A History of Scotland from 80 to 1748*. 8 vols. 2d ed. Edinb., 1873. New ed., 1897.
7. Froude, J. A. *A History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*. Lond. and N. Y., 1859-69; new ed., 1881-82, 12 vols. Written with picturesqueness and marvelous literary power. Froude endeavors to rehabilitate Henry VIII, and does reveal Elizabeth's true character, assigning her just place in history. But his work is too partisan, and has been corrected by various scholars.
8. Finlay, G. *History of Greece from the Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*. Revised ed., 7 vols. Oxf., 1877. This work is worthy to stand by the side of Gibbon. Finlay spent his life in his library, beneath the Acropolis, and was saturated with the Greek spirit.
9. Becker, K. F. *Weltgeschichte*. Herausgegeben von Adolph Schmidt, mit der Fortsetz. von E. Arnd. 26 vols. Leipz., 1860-75; with supplementary vol., 1878.
10. Weber, G. *Weltgeschichte*. 15 vols. Leipz., 1859-81. This great work presents the religious, intellectual, industrial, and political development of nations.
11. Knight, C. *Popular History of England from the Earliest Times to 1849*. Lond., 8 vols., 1876. Much information on the religious and social life. Should use only the English edition with its valuable illustrations.
12. Gardiner, S. R. *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Restoration*. 15 vols. Lond., 1863-95. A model history, written after the German method, with indefatigable studies in the original sources, letting the times tell their own story, and with entire impartiality.

13. Oncken, W. Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen. Berl., 1877-87, 27 vols. and several parts, 1888. A magnificent collection, written by eminent specialists.
14. Green, J. R. Short History of the English People. Lond. and N. Y., 1875, revised ed., 1889; special illustrated ed., 4 vols., 1894-95. [Larger] History of the English People, 4 vols., 1877-80. A fresh and vivid portrayal by a pupil of Freeman and Stubbs.
15. Schlosser, F. C. Weltgeschichte. 18 vols. Berl., 1884-87. Admirable in every way.
16. Ranke, L. Weltgeschichte. 9 vols. Leipz., 1883-88. The death of the author in 1886 interrupted this profound and important work after he had brought it down to the Crusades. It contains his latest views.
17. Mommsen, T. The Provinces and People of Rome, from Cæsar to Diocletian. 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1887.
18. Bryce, J. The Holy Roman Empire. Lond. and N. Y., 1864; revised ed., 1889. A clear statement of the relations of Rome and Germany in the Middle Ages. Of this so-called Empire, Voltaire said that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor Empire.
19. Ridpath, J. C. History of the World. 4 vols. Cinc. and N. Y., 1885-90.

The works of Hallam and the general histories of Fisher, Myers, and Andrews may also be consulted. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, 5th ed., 1881, may be mentioned as a work of immense interest and importance.

V.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL SOURCES.

I. Inscriptions.

1. Gruter. Corpus Inscriptionum. Heidelberg, 1602-03.
2. Boeckh, P. A. Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum. Berl., 1824. Continued by Franz, Kirchhoff, vol. iv., 1853, which includes Christian Inscriptions, Curtius and Rühl.
3. Franz, J. Elementa Epigraphicæ Græcæ. Berl., 1840.
4. Le Blant, E. Inscriptions chrét. de la Gaule. 2 vols. Paris, 1856-65.
5. Hübner, E. Inscriptiones Hispan. Christ. Berl., 1871; Inscript. Brit. Christ. Berl., 1876; Handbuch der römischen Epigraphik. Berl., 1877.
6. De Rossi, J. B. Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ Septimo Sæculo Antiquiores. Romæ, 1861. There are many inscriptions also in his great work on the Catacombs. Romæ, 5 vols., 1864-77. The author spent a lifetime in these researches, and his results are invaluable.
7. Fabretti, A. Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum. 2 vols. Turin, 1867-77; with 3 supplements. Flor., 1880.
8. Northcote, J. S. Epitaphs of the Catacombs, or Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the First Four Centuries. Lond., 1878.

II. Christian Archæology.

1. Bingham, J. Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or Antiquities of the Christian Church. Lond., 1708-22, 10 vols., best ed. in Works. Lond., 1840, 9 vols., or

- Oxf., 1855, 10 vols. This is a work of herculean industry, is full of all curious and interesting learning, and founded on a first-hand study of all the sources then available; is as valuable to-day as when it was first published.
2. Augusti, J. W. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christ. Archäologie*. 12 vols. Leipz., 1816-32.
 3. Rheinwald, G. F. H. *Die kirchl. Archäologie*. Berl., 1830, and later.
 4. Binterim, A. J. *Denkwürdigkeiten d. christ. kathol. Kirche*. 17 vols. Mayence, 1825, and later.
 5. Guericke, H. E. F. *Manual of the Antiquities of the Church*. Lond., 1851.
 6. Martigny, J. A. *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*. Paris, 1865; 2d ed., 1877. Many valuable illustrations.
 7. Smith, W. and Cheetham, S. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Lond., 2 vols., 1875-80. Scholarly and exhaustive.
 8. Kraus, F. X. *Realencyklop. d. christl. Alterthümer*. Freib., 2 vols., 1880, 1886. Binterim, Martigny, and Kraus are Roman Catholics.
 9. Bennett, C. W. *Christian Archæology*. N. Y., 1883. This is the first attempt by an English-speaking scholar to present the whole subject in a compact and scientific form, according to the best recent light. Bennett was a pupil of Piper, the founder and director of the Christian Archæological Museum in Berlin, and the author of *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie*. Gotha, 1867. Bennett's death in 1891 was a serious loss to American scholarship.

III. Councils.

1. Binius, S. *Concilia Generalia et Provincialia Græca et Latina*. Best ed., Cologne, 1606, and later, 4 vols.
2. Labbe, P. *Concilia*. Paris, 1671, 17 vols., completed by Gabriel Cossart. Best ed., with additions, edited by Coleti, Venice, 1728, 23 vols., with supplement by Mansi, 6 vols. Lucæ, 1748-52. Coleti brought the work down to 1727, making the most complete collection of the Councils extant.
3. Hardouin, J. *Conciliorum Collectio*. Paris, 1715, and later, 12 vols.
4. Mansi, G. D. *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*. Flor., 1759-98, 31 vols. This celebrated collection brings the history down to 1509, and is now reprinting in Berlin. It is as founded on the work of Labbe, Cossart, and Coleti.

The History of the Councils has been the subject of extensive research into the original documents by C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*. Freib., 1855-74, 7 vols.; 2d revised ed. by Hefele, Knöpfler, and Hergenröther, 1877, who himself wrote the 8th and 9th vols., 1887, 1890 (see H. M. Scott in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, 1892, pp. 564-66), bringing the work down to 1520. The English translation, *Edinb.*, vol. i, 1871; ii, 1876; iii, 1882; iv, 1895; v, 1896, to A. D. 787.

IV. Liturgies.

1. Durandus, W. (d. 1296). *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, circ. 1290. The first printed work from the pen of an uninspired writer. This editio princeps appeared from the press of Faust in 1459, being preceded by the Psalters of 1457 and 1459. The beauty of the typography has seldom been excelled. Other editions are: Rome, 1473; Lyons, 1503, 1512, 1534, 1584; Antwerp, 1570; Venice, 1599, 1609. New ed., Naples, 1866. The

- first book was translated by J. M. Neale and B. Webb, under the title of *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*. Lond., 1842; new ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1893.
2. Renaudot, E. *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*. Paris, 1715; new ed., 1847, 2 vols.
 3. Muratori, L. A. *Liturgia Romana Vetus*. Venice, 1748.
 4. Assemani, J. A. *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesie Universae*. 13 vols. Rome, 1749-66. This magnificent collection of the rituals, services, and all other liturgical apparatus of the whole Eastern and Western Church was published under the auspices of Pope Boniface XIV.
 5. Daniel, H. *Codex Liturgicus Eccle. Univ. in Epitome Redactus*. Leipz., 1847, 4 vols.
 6. Brett, T. *Collection of the Principal Liturgies, with an Introduction*. Lond., 1833. The Liturgies are translated.
 7. Palmer, W. *Origines Liturgicæ*. Lond., 1832; 4th ed., 2 vols., 1845. Learned investigations by an ardent liturgiologist.
 8. Neale, J. M. *The Liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil*. Lond., 1859, 2 vols.; one the Greek originals; the other, the English translations. Neale was an enthusiast in all matters of the Greek Church, and the study of the liturgies was one of the passions of his life. See his learned work, *Essays in Liturgiology and Church History*. Lond., 1863. A thesaurus of information on many of the old liturgies and on liturgical questions.
 9. Hammond, C. E. *Liturgies, Eastern and Western; edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*. Lond., 1878. A useful handbook.
 10. Swainson, C. A. *The Greek Liturgies. With the Coptic Order of the Mass edited and translated by Bezold*. Lond. and N. Y., 1884.
 11. Weale, W. J. H. *Bibliotheca Liturgica. Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini ab anno MCCCCLXXV impressorum*. Lond., 1886.
 12. Delisle, L. *Memoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*. Paris, 1886. See *Church Quarterly Review* (Lond.), April, 1889, pp. 182-205.

V. *Laws and Canons.*

1. Richter, L. A. *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Leipz., 1833, 2 vols.
2. Friedberg, E. *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Leipz., 1876-82.
3. Fulton, J. *Index Canonum. The Greek Text, an English Translation and a complete Digest of the Canon Law of the Undivided Primitive Church*. N. Y., 1872; 3d revised and enlarged ed., 1892.

Many of the ancient laws and canons are given by Migne. *Patrologia Latina*. Of the Civil Laws: the best edition of the Theodosian Code is by Haenel. Bonn, 1843, 6 vols., with commentaries; and of the Justinian Code the best edition is by Krueger. Berl., 1877. Of the early Protestant Church regulations see the collections by L. A. Richter. Weimar, 1846; and J. J. Moser. *Corpus Juris Evang. Ecclesiæ*. Zürich, 1737, 2 vols.

VI. *Creeds.*

1. Walch, C. W. F. *Bibliotheca Symbolum Vetus*. Lemgo, 1770.
2. Niemeyer, H. A. *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicarum*. Leipz., 1840.

3. Kimmel, E. J. *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*. Jen., 1843-50, 2 vols.
4. Heurtley, C. A. *Harmonia Symbolica*. Oxf., 1858.
5. Denzinger, H. J. D. *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum*. 6th ed. by J. Stahl, Würzb., 1888.
6. Winer, G. B. *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of Christendom*, trans. with Introd. by W. B. Pope. Edinb., 1873; new ed., 1887.
7. Caspari, C. P. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols u. d. Glaubensregel*. 3 vols. Christiania, 1866-75. *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1879. These are epoch-making works. The author pursued his investigations with great ardor, and completely revolutionized this study. It is one of the greatest historical works of this century. He died in 1892.
8. Hahn, A. *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*. Breslau. 1842: 2d ed., 1877. A critical edition of the creeds of the first five centuries.
9. Schaff, P. *Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiae Universalis*. The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. N. Y., 1877; 4th ed., 1884. This monumental work is indispensable to the student. The creeds are given in the original and in translation.

VII. *Papal Bulls, Acts, Rescripts, Briefs, and Regests.*

1. The oldest collection of Papal Bulls is the *Bullae diversorum Pontificum a Joane XXII and Julium III ex Bibliotheca Ludovici Gomes*. Rome. 1550. The first comprehensive collection was that made by Cherubini, and contains all the bulls and briefs from Leo I to 1585. The *Bullarium Magnum* of Maynardus, Luxemb., 1739-68, 19 vols. fol., contains the bulls from Leo the Great to Benedict XIV. The similar collection of Coquelines appeared at the same time, Rome, 1738-48, 14 vols. fol., continued by Barbarini, Rome, 1835, 20 vols. fol. The latest issue of the papal bulls from Leo the Great to recent times is that of Tomassetti, Turin, 1857-72, 24 vols.
2. The older papal briefs: Constant, *Epp. Rom. Pontif.*, Paris, 1721; Schoene-mann, Götting., 1796; Thiel, Braunsberg, 1867-68 (down to 523).
3. Jaffe, P. *Regesta Pontif. Rom.* (to 1193), 2d ed. Berl., 1881-88, 2 vols.
4. Potthast, A. *Regesta Pont.* (1193-1304), 2 vols. Berl., 1873.

The *Liber Pontificalis* gives the history of the popes down to the second half of the ninth century. It long went under the name of the Library of Anastasius, under the mistaken notion of its authorship by Anastasius, librarian to the Church of Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas I, 858-67. There are editions of this by Bianchini, Rome, 1718, fol., which served as a basis for Muratori's edition, contained in the 3d volume of his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, 1723; by Röstell and Giesebrecht in *Pertz, Monumenta Germanica*; by Duchesne, Paris, 1886-90, who wrote a study of the *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1877, and by Watterich, *Romanorum Pontificum Vitae*, 2 vols., Leipz., 1862, reaching to 1193. There are various continuations, though not as a part of the *Liber Pontificalis*. A compendium of the whole is *Amalricus Angerii, Actus Pontificum Romanorum*, 1365, extending from St. Peter to John XII (1321), printed in Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Medii Aevi*, II, 1641, and in Muratori, vol. iii, part ii.

Of the modern histories of the popes we mention the following :

1. Bower, A. *Impartial History of the Popes of Rome*. 7 vols. Lond., 1750-66.
This was translated into German by Rambach, 10 vols. Leipz., 1751-67.
2. Rambach, J. J. *Geschichte der röm. Päpste seit der Reformation*. 2 vols. 1779.
3. Ranke, L. von. *Geschichte der röm. Päpste*. 7th ed., 3 vols., 1878; 1st ed., 1837; Eng. trans., 1840, 3 vols. This chiefly pertains to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The documents, to many of which in manuscript and otherwise the author had access in Rome, are given in the third volume. A thoroughly scientific performance; a specimen of the best German historical achievements.
4. Wattenbach, W. *Geschichte der röm. Päpste*. Berl., 1870.
5. Pastor, L. *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Freib., 1886-89. Trans. into English, ed. by F. A. Antrobus, Lond., 1891, 2 vols. On this see Drüfel, in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1887, No. 12; C. Anderson Scott in *The Critical Review*, 1892, pp. 284-89, and H. M. Scott in the *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, iii, pp. 561-64. Vols. iii and iv appeared in 1895. Vol. iii transl. Lond., 1897.

VIII. *Lives and Acts of Saints and Martyrs (General).*

1. Surius. *Vitæ Sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomanno olim conscriptæ*. Cologne, 1570-75, 6 vols. fol.; latest ed., Turin, 1875, and later, 12 vols.
2. Bollandists, The. *Acta Sanctorum*, 61 vols. fol., Antwerp, 1643, and later: Paris, 63 vols., 1863-83. This gigantic enterprise was conducted with great perseverance by the Jesuit Fathers at Antwerp, beginning with Heribert Rosweyd, who published the first volume in 1615, continued by Johann Bolland (died 1665), and so on until the 53d folio volume appeared in 1794, containing Oct. 12-15 inclusive. In 1837, by the munificence of the Belgian government, the undertaking was renewed by Jesuit scholars at Brussels, and now comprises 63 folio volumes. It is furnished with learned Introductions and Commentaries, and is characterized by a good degree of historic faithfulness.
3. Mabillon, J. *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*. 9 vols., fol. Paris, 1668-70. A work written with searching criticism, which brought the author much trouble.
4. Ruinart, T. *Acta Primorum Martyrum*. Paris, 1689; 3d ed., with Life. Verona, 1731. This author also assisted Mabillon in the 8th and 9th vols. of his great work.
5. Assemani, S. E. *Acta SS. Martyrum Orientalium*. 2 vols. Rome, 1748.
6. Butler, A. *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Saints*. 4 vols., fol., 1756-59. Best ed., Dublin, 1866, 12 vols. A result of thirty years' labor, based on the *Acta Sanctorum*.
7. Baring-Gould, S. *Lives of the Saints*. 15 vols. Lond., 1873-77; with supplementary vol. on Emblems of the Saints in Art, by F. C. Husenbeth, ed. by Dr. A. Jessopp. New ed., rev. and enl., 1897-8.

IX. *Chronology.*

1. Haydn, J. *Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information*. Lond., 1841; 20th revised ed., N. Y., 1893. The work is arranged by subjects.
2. Smith, H. B. *History of the Church in Chron. Tables*. N. Y., 1859; revised ed., 1875.

3. Weidenbach. *Calendarium Hist. Chr. Medii et Novi Ævi.* Regensb., 1855.
4. Grotefend, G. A. *Handbuch des hist. chr. des Mittel-alters.* Han., 1872.
5. Woodward, B. B., and Cates, W. L. R. *Encyclopædia of Chronology, historical and biographical.* Lond., 1872.
6. Brinckmeier. *Prakt. Handbuch d. hist. Chronologie.* Berl., 2d ed., 1882.
7. Heilprin, L. *The Historical Reference Book.* N. Y., 1884. 4th ed., revised to 1893. N. Y., 1893. Very accurate but not sufficiently full. The Chronological Table should be at least doubled in size, and the Biographical Dictionary, too meager to be of value, should be omitted altogether.
8. *Harper's Book of Facts. A Classified History of the World.* Edited by C. T. Lewis. N. Y., 1895.

VI.

GEOGRAPHY.

1. Sprüner, K. *Historical Hand Atlas.* Gotha, 1838-46; 3d ed. by Menke, 1871-80.
2. Wiltsch, J. E. T. *Atlas Sacer s. Ecclesiasticus.* Göttingen, 1843. Trans. into English by John Leitch. Lond., 1859, 2 vols. *Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik*, 2 vols., 1846.
3. Hughes, W. *Historical Atlas.* Lond., 1876.
4. Johnston, W. and A. K. *Historical Atlas.* 2 vols. Edinb., 1880.
5. Freeman, E. A. *Historical Geography of Europe*, 2 vols., text and atlas. Lond. and N. Y., 1891.
6. Droysen, G. *Allgemeine historische Hand Atlas* (96 maps with explanatory text). Bielef. and Leipz., 1886.
7. Labberton, R. H. *New Historical Atlas and General History.* New and enlarged ed. N. Y., 1890.

VII.

ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.

The encyclopædias are important as giving summaries of results by the best scholars. In some of these works the subjects are treated at great length.

1. Aschbach, J. *Allgemeines Kirchen-Lexicon.* Frankfort a-M., 1846-50, 4 vols. Roman Catholic.
2. Blunt, J. H. *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology.* Lond. and Phila., 1870; 2d ed., 1872. *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Thought.* Lond. and Phila., 1874; new ed., 1891. Written by High Church scholars. An immense amount of information from the best sources, but presented with a strong hierarchical bias.
3. Herzog, J. J., Plitt, G. L., and Hauck, A. *Real-Encyclopædie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Leipz., 1877-83, 18 vols. The first edition was published 1854-66, 22 vols. Based on this great work is the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopædia.* N. Y., 1882, 3 vols.; revised ed., 1887, 3 vols.; with supplementary vol. on Living Divines; new ed., 1893, 4 vols. Exhaustive treatment of historical subjects. New ed., by Hauck, 1897 ff.

4. McClintock, J. and Strong, J. *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. N. Y., 1867-81, 10 vols., with two supplementary vols., 1884-86. The most extensive work of the kind in English; a vast treasure house of learning. The work now needs a thorough revision and rewriting.
5. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Edited by T. S. Baynes and W. R. Smith. 9th ed. Edinb., Lond., Bost., and N. Y., 1875-89, 25 vols., including an index vol. The Church History articles by specialists like Harnack, Cazenove, and others. Issues of A. and C. Black (Little, Brown & Co.), Scribner's, and Stoddart are the best.
6. Lichtenberger, F. *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*. Paris, 1877-82, 13 vols. The French Herzog, though more concise.
7. Wetzer und Welte. *Kirchen Lexikon*, revised and rewritten under the editorial care of Cardinal Hergenröther and Franz Kaulen. Freib., 1880-95, 10 vols. The first edition appeared 1847-56, 12 vols. The revision departs seriously from the free spirit of the original, and is in the ultramontane interest, though written by the best scholars of Catholic Germany.
8. Smith, W. and Wace, H. *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines*. Lond., 1877-86, 4 vols. Includes the first eight centuries, and is a marvel of comprehensiveness and scholarship. Many of its articles are exhaustive monographs. German scholars acknowledge that it surpasses anything in their language. It is to be hoped that this work will be followed by others, bringing the history down to the present.
9. Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, new ed., recast and rewritten, edited by David Patrick. Edinb. and Phila., 1888-93, 10 vols. (the earlier volumes again revised to 1892). Every article has been revised or written at first hand by eminent scholars. The historical articles are full and fair, and reflect the latest research.
10. Johnson's *Encyclopædia*, edited by C. K. Adams. N. Y., 1893-95, 8 vols. The department of general Church History is in most competent hands, being edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, Secretary of the American Society of Church History (8 vols.). This is the best encyclopædia published in the United States.

An English Herzog is much needed, a work giving exhaustive treatment of all subjects in theology, written in view of the recent remarkable progress in theological science.

The reviews and magazines, especially the theological reviews, often give masterly discussions of questions in Church History. The student ought to avail himself of the *Indexes* of Poole and Fletcher.

VIII.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL AND OTHER WRITERS.

1. Canisius, H. *Antiquæ Lectiones*, 1601-03, 6 vols.; repub. by Basnage, 1725, 7 vols., with notes and the Greek text added.
2. Combefis, F. *Græco-Lat. Patrum Bibliothecæ Auctarium novum*. Paris, 1648, 2 vols. Besides a collection of the writings of several Fathers, this

- notable work contains a history of the Monothelites, which treats the subject so freely that Rome was much displeased. *Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria*, 8 vols. Paris, 1662, reissued 1859. *Bibliotheca Græcorum Patrum Auctarium novissimum*. Paris, 1672, 2 vols. Combebis published editions of other Fathers.
3. Achery, J. L. d'. *Veterum aliquot Scriptorum qui in Galliæ Bibliothecis delituerant, maxime Benedictinorum, Spicilegium*. Paris, 1655-77, 13 vols., 4to. New and improved ed. by de la Barre, Baluze, and Martène. Paris, 1723, 3 vols., fol. A vast collection of works then for the first time published.
 4. Du Pin, L. E. *Bibliothèque universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*. Paris, 1686-1704, 47 vols. Later editions with continuations of Goujet, Petit-Didier, and critique of R. Simon. 61 vols. Written in a free spirit.
 5. Martène, E. *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio Nova*. Rouen, 1700. A continuation of D'Achery, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio*. Paris, 1724-33, 9 vols., fol.
 6. Montfaucon, B. de. *Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum*. Paris, 1706, 2 vols., fol. He also published magnificent editions of Athanasius, Paris, 1698, fol.; the Hexapla of Origen, 1713, fol.; and Chrysostom, Paris, 1718-33, 13 vols., fol.; Venice, 1750, 14 vols., 4to. This marvelous monument of erudition and patience still remains one of the best editions of any Church Father.
 7. Assemani, J. S. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. 3 vols., fol. Romæ, 1719-28. For some of the Syriac writers.
 8. Muratori, L. A. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Milan, 1723-51, 25 vols., fol. An invaluable collection of the sources of mediæval history of Italy, A. D. 500-1500. *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*. Milan, 1739-42, 4 vols., fol.
 9. Ceillier, R. *Histoire générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*. Paris, 1729-63, 23 vols.; new ed., 1853-69, 16 vols.
 10. Bouquet, M. *Scriptores Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum*, 1733-76. One of the numerous works of the industrious Benedictines of St. Maur. The first eight vols. by Bouquet: vols. ix-xi by Handigier; xii and xiii by Clément; xiv and xv by Brial: afterward continued by the Academy of Inscriptions; new ed. by Delisle. Paris, 1869-77.
 11. Gallandi, A. *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*. Venice, 1765-81, 14 vols., fol. Contains the work of 380 authors.
 12. Langebeck, J. *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi*. Hafn., 1772-1878.
 13. Lumper, G. *Historia theologico-critica de vita, scriptis, atque doctrina ss. Patrum, aliorumque Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum trium primorum Sæculorum*. Augsb., 1783-99, 13 vols.
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 17. Niebuhr, B. G. (with Bekker and others). *Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ*. Bonn, 1828-55, 48 vols.
 18. *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, translated by Members of the English Church. Oxf., 1833-80, 47 vols. This collection was edited by Pusey, Keble, and Newman. It contains translations of the works, in whole or in part, of Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril (1880), Cyprian, Gregory the Great, and Tertullian. It is furnished with valuable notes.
 19. Migne, J. P. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*. Paris, 1844-66. This immense collection includes all the Latin Fathers to the thirteenth century, 223 vols., and all the Greek Fathers to the fifteenth century, 166 vols. From this indomitable abbe's organ, cross, and book factory there issued also a theological encyclopædia in 171 vols., and a collection of sacred orators in 100 vols.
 20. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland from the Roman Invasion to Henry VIII*. Lond., 1853-90, 210 vols. This series, commonly called the *Rolls Series*, is edited by specialists, and each vol. is enriched with introductions and notes of inestimable value. See C. K. Adams, *Manual of Historical Literature*, 3d ed., p. 530; Walter Rye, article *Records* in the new (1891) ed. of Chambers's *Encyclopædia*. Several of the old historians have also been published by the English Historical Society, 1838-56, and many of them have been translated in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*. The Camden Society has issued several old works. The Historical Manuscript Commission has published transcripts of important manuscripts, 1870-71, and abstracts of many others. Full descriptions of the English historical material will be found in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*. Lond., 1862-71, 3 vols.; Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*. Lond., 1842, 1846, 2 vols.; and Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introduction to the Study of English History*. Lond., 1881, part ii. (pp. 200-424).
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 23. *The Ante-Nicene Library*, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, and translated with notes and introductions by various hands. Edinb., 1867-72, 24 vols. Reprinted with additional notes and introductions by the Christian Literature Co., edited by A. C. Cox. N. Y., 1885-86, 8 vols., with Bibliography (by E. C. Richardson) and Index (by B. Pick) vol. N. Y., 1887.
 24. Horoy. *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patrist. s. Patrologia*. Paris, 1879. A continuation of Migne for the later Middle Ages, 1216-1564. Sathas published at Paris, 1872-95, a collection of the Greek writers of the Middle Ages.

25. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte d. altchristlichen Literatur.* Leipz., 1882 to the present. Edited by O. L. Gebhardt and A. Harnack. Handy critical editions of various writings.
26. *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Series I,* edited by Philip Schaff, and translated by various scholars, with introductions and notes. N. Y., 1886-90, 14 vols. Includes many of the works of Augustine and Chrysostom.
27. *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* Edited by Schaff and Wace, and translated, with prolegomena and notes, by various scholars. N. Y., 1890-96 (not yet finished). Includes: 1. Eusebius, *Church History*, McGiffert (the best edition of a Church Father ever published); Ensebius, *Constantine*, by Richardson; 2. Socrates, by Zenos; Sozomen, by Hartranft; 3. Theodoret, by Jackson; Jerome and Gennadius, by Richardson; Rufinus and Jerome, by Fremantle; 4. Athanasius, by Robertson; 5. Gregory of Nyssa, by Moore and Wilson; 6. Jerome, by Fremantle (Lewis and Martley); 7. Cyril of Jerusalem, by Gifford; Gregory Nazianzen, by Browne; 8. Basil, by Jackson; 11. Sulpitius Severus, by Roberts; Vincent of Lerins, by Heurtley; John Cassian, by Gibson; Leo, by Feltoe; Gregory the Great, by Barmby; Ambrose, by De Romestin.
28. *Patrologia Syriaca.* Edited by P. Graffin, assisted by eminent specialists, vols. 1 and 2. Paris, 1895. This is to consist of an issue in critically prepared editions of the entire literature of the ancient Syrian Church. The Syriac text is to be accompanied with Latin translations, introductions, notes of various readings, and is to be done by Roman Catholic scholars. This notable undertaking is to complete the work of Migne, though it is to be executed with the critical care which was absent from his series. See the *Independent*, N. Y., June 20, 1895, p. 16; *Sunday School Times*, July 27, 1895, p. 476.

IX.

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1. Hagenbach, K. R. 1840, 6th ed., by Karl Benrath, 1888; English trans. from 5th ed., Edinb., 1880, 3 vols.
2. Schmid, H. 1859, 4th ed., much enlarged, by Hauck. Nördl., 1887.
3. Baur, F. C. Leipz., 1865-67, 3 vols. His *Handbook* on the same subject was published in 1847; 2d ed., 1858.
4. Neander, A. 2 vols. Lond., 1858.
5. Frank, G. F. *Geschichte der prot. Theologie.* 3 vols. 1865.
6. Werner. *Geschichte der Theologie in Deutschland.* Munich, 1866.
7. Shedd, W. G. T. N. Y. and Edinb., 1865, 2 vols.; 4th ed., 1884.
8. Crippen, T. G. Edinb., 1883. Excellent for a brief survey.
9. Dorner, I. A. *Hist. of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany.* 2 vols. Edinb., 1871.
10. Sheldon, H. C. 2 vols. N. Y., 1886; new ed., enlarged, 1895.
11. Harnack, A. Freib., 1886-90, 3 vols., transl. by Neil Buchanan, vol. i, Lond. and Bost., 1895. Harnack struck out a new path in the treatment of the History of Doctrine, but his conception is yet on trial. For discussions, see F. H. Foster. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1888, pp. 163-85; H. M. Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theology*, vol. iv (1887), pp. 129-34; v, 158-55; vi, 73-133; Paul, in *Jahrb. für protestant. Theologie*, April,

1889; H. M. Scott, in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, 1891, pp. 513-17; J. S. Candlish, in *Critical Review*, i (1891), pp. 273-18. Harnack's smaller book on the same subject, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, Freib., 1889, not an abridgment but a freshly written work, has been translated by E. K. Mitchell, Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Two other excellent works in German: Thomasius, 2 vols., Erlang., 1874, and Nitzsch, vol. i, Berl., 1870. The work of Thomasius was revised in a second ed. by H. Bonwetsch, Erlang., 1886, and is a work of great merit. On Harnack, see also R. Rainy, *Crit. Rev.*, April, 1895.



HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCIENCE AND LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL CHURCH.

THE Christian Church is that association and organization of persons who have been baptized in the name of Christ, who are united by the visible acceptance of his doctrines and by declaration of faith in him, and who strive by their individual and related life to obey his teachings and follow his example. The actual Church, in distinction from the Christian, includes all believers in whom the divine Spirit dwells, apart from any relationship with ecclesiastical confessions. Hodge thus defines the Church in this larger sense: "All true believers in whom the Spirit of God dwells are members of that Church which is the body of Christ, no matter with what ecclesiastical organization they may be connected, and even although they have no such connection. The thief on the cross was saved, though he was not a member of any external Church."¹ The general Church is of still broader scope. It consists of all worshippers of Jehovah in the pre-Christian ages, of the persons of pure purpose in all lands who have lived according to such light as the Spirit gave them, of all followers of Christ, and of all who have died in such faith as their opportunities gave them and have ascended to citizenship in the triumphant company of believers. It is the entire body of the

DEFINITION OF
THE CHURCH.

¹ Systematic Theology, i, p. 134.

human servants of God—those who are still in the battle of faith and those who rest from their labors.¹

Neither the actual nor the general Church is a proper, or even possible, subject of historical investigation, because of the large measure of subtle and intangible material in which both are enveloped. However easily they might be treated by the doctrinal theologian, the historian can deal only with organized ecclesiastical life, its relations to the great world about it, and the adverse and favorable influences which have operated upon it during its progress through the centuries. The historian of the Christian

THE DUTY OF
THE HISTORIAN
OF THE CHRIS-
TIAN CHURCH.

Church, therefore, comes to his task with a well-defined field of vision—the Church of Christ, from its organization shortly after the ascension of our Lord down to the present time. He will need to inquire, however, as a preliminary study, into the conditions of thought and faith, in their centers, at the time of the introduction of Christianity. He must examine the soil into which the great Sower cast that seed which has produced, and will more largely produce, the abundant harvest of thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold.

The process in imparting truth to the patriarchal mind, and thus providing the real beginnings of the Church of the future, is a suggestive and beautiful evidence of divine favor toward mankind. Immediately after the apostasy remedial measures were adopted for final restoration. The method was slow, and required ages for its development. The restoration began with the call of one man, Abraham, in the desert of Haran, and was fulfilled two thousand years afterward in Bethlehem by the incarnation of Christ. A people was chosen to be the depository² of divine truth; to preserve, amid the surrounding waste of pantheism and polytheism, a pure theistic faith and the practice of a holy and worthy service; and, by the anticipations awakened through type and prophecy, to look for final completion and the beginning of a universal spiritual empire, when the Messiah should come and establish his throne on earth. This people constituted the original Church, and, notwithstanding its many wanderings in faith and life, it was never without a remnant of devoted servants of the true

THE ORIGINAL
CHURCH.

¹ On the distinction between the visible and invisible Church in the first age of Christianity, see Pressense, *Heresy and Christian Doctrine*, book ii, ch. iv, § 5. The Roman Catholics falsely charged the Protestants with inventing this distinction. See Bossuet, *Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Dublin, 1836, vol. ii, pp. 281, 290. Bellarmine excludes it and argues against it (*Opera*, tom. ii, lib. iii, chs. ii, xi, xii). Compare Moehler, *Symbolism*, ch. v. For an excellent discussion of this distinction, see Bannerman, *The Church of Christ*, vol. ii, pp. 29–40.

² Rom. xi, 4.

God. At the darkest crisis in its history there were seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal.

But it was after Christ had come and preached his word and appointed men to organize his work that the Church first assumed universal prerogatives. Its provincial character was lost in its cosmopolitan quality. Not until the ends of the earth should be reached was the evangelistic commission to be fulfilled. Never before the incarnation had holy men been commanded to go into all the world and preach to every creature. The burden of empire was upon these first preachers. The whole Roman world was too small for their parish. It is this Church, as distinguished from the actual and the general, that has its firm place in history, and its record can be examined with as much precision and justice as that of Britain since the Norman conquest in 1066, or the kingdom of Prussia since the death of the Great Elector, Frederick William, in 1688.

Church history is a representation of the external progressive career of the Christian Church, of its multiform influences on all surrounding relations, of the disturbing effects of the outward world upon it, of its own consequent aberrations in doctrine and practice, and yet of its inward spiritual life and development, though often intermitted, through all the centuries of its life. In this history we observe the constant presence of the divine and human factors. At no time has the Church been deprived of God's superintending care and instruction. In seasons of spiritual darkness and increasing impiety he has provided instruments for revival and progress; and while the periods of stagnation have extended over entire centuries and darkened the very centers of religious zeal and power, the career of the Church has been one of general growth and development. Martensen¹ finely states the difference between the faultless and the fallible in the Church: "The Church is absolutely faultless as regards her principle and her beginning; absolutely faultless also as to her final aim; but in the interval between these extremes, in her historical and free development, her relative fallibility lies. The historical development of the Church is not, as Catholicism asserts, normal; it is subject, like a ship on the billows, to the undulations of the times."² Even during the Middle Ages, which we are accustomed to regard as a season of unrelieved decline, agencies were prepared

THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?

MARTENSEN'S FINE DISTINCTION.

¹Christian Dogmatics, p. 350.

²The Westminster Confession says: "The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error." Chap. xxiii, 5.

for the more rapid diffusion of the Gospel and its firmer hold upon humanity. It was no fancy, but prophecy :

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
And Severn to the sea ;
And Wyclif's dust shall spread abroad
Wide as the waters be."

But notwithstanding the general divine superintendence of the Church, no obstruction has been placed on human freedom. To deal with the question of the Church as a moral offender, when it ought to be a teacher and an exemplar for all sound doctrine, is one of the most unwelcome tasks of the historian. He is frequently called to investigate periods of great spiritual decline, as on the Continent in the fifteenth century and in England in the eighteenth ; and to grope through regions stricken with the blight of fruitless controversy, as in Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa in the sixth century. He is compelled to admit that the pure fountain of faith has repeatedly been corrupted by grave doctrinal errors, that schism has come at times when unity of sentiment and action was a supreme necessity, that the vanity of the controversialist has too often superseded the simplicity of the willing disciple, that the unholy common life of those who bore the Christian name has too frequently been substituted for that sweet sympathy and accord which characterized the Church in its earliest period, and that such crimes as would have darkened the escutcheon of even a barbarous nation, such as the Spanish *autos de f * and the French massacre on St. Bartholomew's Eve, have been committed in the name of Christianity.

Buckle says that persecution is the crime of crimes, that the number of the Church's known victims has been "enormous and almost incredible," and that the number of the unknown victims must be far more numerous.¹

But it must be remembered that the Church, when its conscience has been free to speak and work, has not only stood far aloof from persecution, but has been liberal and pure, and, instead of making apologies for its vagaries in darker days, it has been prompt to confess them.²

This sadly disappointing character of ecclesiastical history has not failed to attract the attention of some of the most acute observers. Professor Bright describes it very forcibly,³ while the saintly Charles Marriott, of Oxford Tractarian

¹ History of Civilization in England, vol. i. p. 189.

² Dornier, System of Christian Doctrine, vol. iv, p. 367.

³ Waymarks in Church History. Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 8-19.

THE DARKER
PERIODS OF
CHURCH HIS-
TORY.

DISAPPOINT-
MENTS OF
CHURCH HIS-
TORY.

fame, says : "Whoever enters upon the study of Church history must be prepared for many surprises."¹ The late Dean Church, whose vision was keen, makes a similar remark : "The history of the Christian Church has hardly fulfilled the promise, has not realized on a large scale the ideal, of the New Testament. It has been a very mixed history ; on the one hand, great efforts, definite improvement, and progress ; on the other, perplexing disappointment, inconsistency, degeneracy."² It is, as Faber says :

"In His own world He is content
To play a losing game."

But these are only parts of God's ways. We need to distinguish between the human fulfillment and the divine ideal. The plan of God is perfect, but the fulfillment is left with the often erring creature. The Church, with all its human quality, has been guided by the divine hand. There has been final progress, however unfavorable may be our judgment of the Church at certain points in its history. "We will discover," says Schlegel, "in the Christian religion the sole principle of the subsequent progress of mankind : and the distinctive character and intellectual importance of the third and last epoch of the world we will find only in that light which, emerging from the primitive revelation and the religion of love established by the Redeemer, has shone ever clearer and brighter with the progress of ages, and has changed and regenerated not only government and science, but the whole system of human life."³

But while the Church has seriously wandered at many stages in its journey, it has nevertheless uttered a prophetic denunciation of the wrong. No period has been so corrupt as to be without its Protestant heroes. Rome might be ruled by its shameless Borgian pope, Alexander VI, but independent Florence was dignified at the same time by his counterpart in the pure Savonarola. Whenever the Church has produced improper and unsafe forces, it has never failed to provide the corrective from its own fold. In its seasons of moral perversion and decay it might be destructive of the very good which its own hand had planted. The view of Buckle, imitated by Lecky and Draper, that the Church is responsible for persecution, witchcraft, and the ignorance that would prosecute all science in the person of a Galileo, needs only to be met by the declaration that the Church has cured

SCHLEGEL'S
TRIBUTE TO
CHRISTIANITY.

THE CHURCH
ALWAYS PRO-
DUCTIVE OF
REFORMERS.

¹ Masters of English Theology, p. 109.

² Discipline of the Christian Character, p. 119.

³ Philosophy of History, 6th ed., revised, p. 276.

its own evils, and that the Church of Leo X was also that of the valiant Luther and the calm and scholarly Erasmus.

The Church has gained its permanent triumphs by the ordeal of labor and trial and blood. Its acquisitions have not fallen, like ripe fruit, on its open hands. Its history gives constant evidence of the operation of the law of development. The Church is a kingdom which had its origin in the mind and plan of a King without territory, scepter, palace, or pillow, but in due time, without taking its sword from its sheath and by the force of its moral ideas and examples alone, saw the downfall of the Roman empire and on its ruins the Christendom of the later ages. Tholuck says: "The idea of the kingdom of God is the leading thought in the history of the Church."¹ The view of Rothe, that before A. D. 50 there was no real Christian Church, but only disconnected societies, may have its measure of correctness.²

LAW OF DEVELOPMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY—THOLUCK AND ROTHE.

But it may be replied, that as the unlaunched ship proves at a glance the element for which its keel was laid and every bolt driven, so those small Christian societies were shaped for union, consolidation, and a firm place in history. Children are not ready for social unity, but every member of the State was once a child. The Church is the spiritual force in the midst of a world of secular forces. Whenever, in its moral aberration, it assumes the part of a secular ruler, as in the thousand years of the papacy as a temporal power and in the Jesuit interference with the Portuguese succession, it has lost its spirituality. Its mission is in the domain of the moral life alone, to pervade all civil government with its pure life by cleansing the popular sources of government and to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. The Church has been precisely this spiritual force in the midst of the secular; or, as Hegel states it: "The Christian community is the kingdom of Christ, its influencing present spirit being Christ. For this kingdom has an actual existence, not a merely future one. This spiritual actuality has, therefore, also a phenomenal existence; and that, not only as contrasted with heathenism, but with secular existence generally. For the Church, as presenting this outward existence, is not merely a religion as opposed to another religion, but is at the same time a particular form of secular existence occupying a place side by side with other secular existence. The religious existence of the Church is governed by Christ."³

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

¹ Theolog. Encyclop. and Methodology. In Bib. Sac., vol. i, p. 567.

² Anfänge d. christl. Kirche, p. 310.

³ Philosophy of History, p. 344.

The forgetfulness of this divine Presence in the history of the Church is the cause of the frequent misconception in literature of those sublime virtues which have shone forth in periods of persecution, and of that calm trust in pain and sorrow which has distinguished those upon whom its heavier burdens have fallen. Even Goethe, who paid such a glowing tribute to the sublimity of the service in a little church on the Rhine, and who with his many-sided genius could discover truth in much error and was not slow to declare it, could see in the history of the Church only a wretched mixture of falsehood and brute force :

GOETHE'S FAULT
TO APPRE-
CIATE THE HIS-
TORY OF THE
CHURCH.

“Glaubt nicht, dass ich fäsele, dass ich dichte,
Sehet hin und findet nur andre Gestalt!
Es ist die ganze Kirchengeschichte—
Mischmasch von Irrthum und von Gewalt.”¹

But the spirit of Goethe was essentially pagan. It was impossible for him to discern the divine and heroic in the onward course of Christianity. Chiapelli, the Neapolitan philosopher, sees more deeply when he says: “The great epochs in the history of the world are marked not by the overturning of empires or the migration of nations. Such things belong to the external history; but the real history, the inner history of man, is the history of religion.”²

The Church as a divine society growing out of the incarnation must be distinguished from the State as a voluntary association for secular ends. Arnold of Rugby believed that Christianity might so penetrate the State that the State itself would become the Church. The external organization of the Church dies away as its spirit is transfused into the larger organization which becomes the kingdom of God.³ Hegel had a similar idea: “The State itself is a divine idea, a religious institution. The State is the divine will, as a present spirit, unfolding itself in the actual form and organization of a world.” There is only a difference in form between the Church and the State, both having to do with truth and reality.⁴ Rothe carried this view out

VIEWS OF AR-
NOLD. HEGEL,
ROTHE.

‘Think not that I rave, that mad verses I weave,
But examine and find, in a different light,
Church history all—no exception I leave—
Is a jumble complete of error and might.

¹ *Le Idee Millenarie dei Christiani*, Naples, 1888.

² Fragment on the Church, pp. 177, 221-8. Postscript to *Principles of Church Reform*, pp. 18-23. Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold*, chap. iv. See Index.

⁴ *Werke*, Berlin, 1883, *Rechtsphilosophie*, vol. i, § 257-270.

with great consistency.¹ But this confuses organizations which God has ordained for separate ends, the State for government, and the Church for spiritual culture and worship. The preservation of this distinction is as essential to the rights of the State of freedom from dictation by a domineering theocracy as it is to the rights of the Church of freedom from secularization and the loss of power as the body of Christ. The Lord recognizes that both Church and State have their separate claims.²

¹ *Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, § 5, 6, ff. *Theologische Ethik*, i, 418, ff.; ii, 145, ff.; iii, 1009-1125. Nitzsch, in his *System of Theology*, criticises Rothe, § 198.

² *Matt. xxii*, 21.

CHAPTER II.

PLACE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

THE history of the Church is a portion of the general history of the world and, within narrow limits, of the general history of religion. It is the very center of all history. As Christ is the only universal character and exemplar of the human race, and Christianity is the fundamental remedial system for its restoration, so the history of the Church which he established is the only satisfactory solution of the historical problems of the ages. Without the light from its pages all the records of national and individual deeds are obscure and unmeaning, but with it every event is significant. The history of the Church, written with due investigation and in a judicial state of mind, derives its value from the very religious elements which unconsciously underlie it, and frequently, though without any design on the part of the author, performs the service of hand-maid to sacred and ecclesiastical history.

HISTORY OF
THE CHURCH
THE SOLUTION
OF ALL HIS-
TORICAL PROBLEMS.

The great labors of George Rawlinson in oriental history, as exhibited in his *Seven Monarchies* and in his annotations to his edition of Herodotus, furnish ample proof of the corroborative service of secular to sacred history. But this author is always ready to trace the hand of God in all history and to point out the confirmation of Scripture testimony by profane records. On the other hand, Hume, the last of English deists deserving our respect, has unintentionally shown that until Christianity came to Britain in the second and third centuries there was no unity among the tribes located there; but that after it arrived, and finally gained the mastery over Druidism and other forms of heathen worship, the population began to grow homogeneous and progressive; and that because of the very presence and power of this element England developed in constitutional liberty, in literature and the arts, and in all those conditions of prosperity which from Runnymede to Waterloo placed her in the front rank of powerful and respected nations.

HUME'S UN-
CONSCIOUS
TESTIMONY TO
CHRISTIANITY.

The same unconscious testimony to Christianity, though in another field, has been borne by Hume's contemporary, Gibbon. So

decided is the latter's service to ecclesiastical history that Cardinal Newman declares that up to the publication of the **NEWMAN'S TRIBUTE TO GIBBON.** Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, which, indeed, was in part written to show that all the marvelous progress of Christianity was due to purely natural causes, England had produced no ecclesiastical history worthy of the name.¹ Dean Stanley says of that work that it is "in great part, however reluctantly or unconsciously, the history of the rise and progress of the Christian Church."²

Every valuable history of Christian lands that has appeared during the last few decades comprises a history of the Church in the same territory, for the very reason that the history itself has been determined in large measure by the ecclesiastical and religious life of the people. The most attractive parts of Macaulay's **MACAULAY AND FROUDE.** brilliant fragment of English history are those which bear on the ecclesiastical and religious life of the kingdom. The same applies to the colder work of Froude, whose History of England derives its chief value from his researches into the fortunes and relations of Romanism and Protestantism from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth.

It is, indeed, true that even the historians of the pagan countries have been led to give no small space to the popular cults, and, without motive, to show how the history is the outgrowth of the faith. Full recognition of the religious factor is found in Mommsen's History of Rome and Curtius's History of Greece, while **MOMMSEN, CURTIUS, AND GLADSTONE.** it is the predominant element in Gladstone's Homeric Studies. There is ample reason for this one absorbing theme in national life. The most serious thought of a people is its religion. The historic page must inevitably reveal the national conscience, which has been the ruling motive in war and peace. Hence, it is not surprising that when the historian begins his investigations the conscientious purpose of great peoples should fill a large part of his horizon.

Church history, as a science, is connected by intimate relations with the specific departments of general secular and religious history, being coordinate with political history as such and with the history of philosophy, and the history of literature. To understand the development of the Church properly these need to be studied with the greatest care. The last few decades abound in rich material in all these groups. Moreover, the history of the

¹ Historical and Critical Essays, 8th ed., vol. ii, p. 186.

² Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History. Lecture I.

Church is dependent for correct and liberal representation upon such studies as historical geography, chronology, national archives, philology, diplomatics, numismatics, and heraldry.¹ In a word, there is no branch of science which is not collateral with ecclesiastical history. Formerly the latter was viewed in isolation; but in this age, when every subject of investigation is studied in its relations, the history of the Church has come in for its share of broad and fundamental inquiry. The light, therefore, reflected upon the history of the Church by the auxiliaries to, and sources of, secular history is absolutely indispensable.

ALL SCIENCE
COLLATERAL
WITH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Historical theology may be classified as follows:

1. Old and New Testament History.
2. History of Nations related to Palestine.
3. History of Christian Doctrines.
4. History of the Church.
 - a. Confessions. b. Countries. c. Antiquities. d. Statistics. e. Journalism.
5. Comparative Theology.
6. Missions.
7. Biography and the History of Christian Life.

Historical theology deals with the scientific treatment, in the order of time and development, of the institutions and life emanating from the truth recorded in the Scriptures. Systematic theology looks at the present acknowledged doctrinal tenets as presented by history and claiming a biblical support, and has for its object the scientific statement and defense of all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. It takes no cognizance of the processes, but only of the historical results. Practical theology lays down the canons for the proper application of Christian doctrine to human life, and provides measures for the continuation and extension of the kingdom of Christ on earth until the consummation of the remedial work inaugurated by him.

HISTORICAL
THEOLOGY IN
RELATION TO
SYSTEMATIC
AND PRACTICAL
THEOLOGY.

Theology, which is the human structure on the basis of a divine revelation, is a variable science, and subject to such conditions as arise from thought. The Bible, and that only, is the final umpire. To arrive at the exact Bible, the pure word of God, has been the labor of the sacred philologist in all ages, and no branch of theology in recent times has shared more largely in the general intellectual progress of the times than the

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

¹ Gieseler, Church History, vol. i, pp. 19, 20.

criticism of the sacred text. The new light that has come from the Sinaitic codex is only one stage in the steady progress from Erasmus in the fifteenth century to Tischendorf in the nineteenth.

Every department of theology is susceptible of this wider development, and no seer can foretell the coming growth, which will not be less than in the domain of natural phenomena. But in no branch of theology is this advance more perceptible than in historical theology and in the specific form of Church history. The discovery of new lands, the new paths through the old nations, is throwing additional light upon them, so that the researches of the ecclesiastical historian are constantly widening. Since the opening of Japan to missionary labor we are able to read for the first time the true story of the misdirected labors of Francis Xavier and his coadjutors in the Jesuit propagandism in that empire. Until Gobat began his mission in Abyssinia that country had been almost a sealed book to the Western mind from the Mohammedan invasion down to the present century.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTMENTS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE history of the Church has its important branches, which are determined by the outward and inward experiences of the members composing it. These can be grouped under three heads :

1. The territorial expansion and limitation.
2. The doctrinal development.
3. The internal constitution and religious life.

Thus : It will be necessary, First, to trace the steady growth of the Christian Church, though often persecuted, from its establishment at the beginning of the apostolic period, its gradual enlargement into northern and western Europe, its compression by the Roman empire and its eastern limitation by Mohammedanism, the attempted restrictions of Protestantism by Roman Catholicism through the Thirty Years' War, and the recent marvelous occupation of great missionary fields. Second, it will be necessary to trace the theological development of the Church, to present the formulation of Christian doctrines, and to show the progress of theological literature and culture in general. Third, in the history of the internal constitution and religious life of the Church it will be requisite to describe the legislation, discipline, liturgical usages, art, moral and religious condition, and whatever else is embraced in the archæological and ethical relations of the Christian Church in all periods.

CHAPTER IV.

VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE great value of Church history is due to that general twofold necessity of our being, a knowledge of our experience and a calm and honest introspection. The Church, in the proper reading of its historical record, holds an impartial mirror before its face. It does more; it looks into its own heart and examines with candor its innermost emotions. "The unqualified value of Church history," says Hase, "consists in its being the expression of the self-consciousness of the Church with reference to its complete development. From this is derived its practical necessity. And whoever has any active part to take in any branch of the Church must be a participant in this self-consciousness, without which its present state cannot be comprehended nor its future foreseen or properly provided for."¹

There is no admirer of human progress and no Christian believer to whom the history of the Church is not of inestimable worth. It is the record of God's hand in the guidance of humanity to its best endeavors and holiest aspirations. What experience is to human life the history of the Church is to the believer. He is a member of a great community which has a varied past, a vigorous present, and a hopeful future. What has been the past? Wherein lie the cause of its errors and the secret of its successes? It is only by a

THE NECESSITY
OF CLOSE
STUDY OF
CHURCH HIS-
TORY.

just examination of these that we can expect to acquire wisdom to meet the demands upon the Church of the future. God is not prodigal of the gifts which can supply the absence of the lessons of experience. It is only the human necessity that marks the beginning of the divine opportunity. Hence, if the teachings of history be disregarded, there can be no expectation that these will be compensated from any source whatever. The Christian, as he looks back upon the early periods of nations and the old pagan cults, meets with a chaos of uncertainties and myths. But as he reviews the beginnings of

¹ Kirchengeschichte, 9th ed., p. 3. In the American translation of this work (from the 7th German ed.) the translators err in making the author say that Church history is *an*, instead of *the*, expression of the Church's self-consciousness.

the Church, he finds truth, positive faith, and a sinless Founder at the very threshold.

The pages of ecclesiastical history are adorned with persons who derived all their inspiration from Christ himself, and, like the three disciples on the mount of transfiguration, shone with the brightness from the Master. Their names are of as much value to the succeeding generations as their persons were to the times in which they lived. Their dying was the condition of their consecration to the permanent service of the Church. The martyrs and confessors of the ten persecutions teach a heroism which has no superior in secular history. The firm and careful teachers in the periods of great doctrinal errors speak eloquently to the doubting and the unwary of to-day. The Christian minstrels of earlier periods so struck their harps that the clear notes will reverberate through the long aisles of all later ages. The preachers, whom neither threat nor bribe could silence or intimidate, are fit exemplars of supreme fidelity to their calling and of confidence in the Gospel for every generation of the Christian ministry.

CHURCH HISTORY RESPLENDENT WITH GREAT CHARACTERS.

Even the skeptic, the hypocrite, and the apostate "cannot escape history," but are summoned from their unenviable graves to teach posterity its best and saddest lessons of warning. Tholuck, in enforcing the value of Church history to the minister of the Gospel, shows that the benefit is of this twofold character. "The practical benefit which a clergyman may derive from the study of Church history is," he says, "on the one hand, that of encouragement; on the other, that of warning. His mind is elevated to the consideration of Christ's victorious agency, examples of which have been given in all periods of the Church. . . . The preacher is also led to meditate on the continued warning which comes from the history of the Church, for errors in doctrine and wickedness in practice have been nearly the same throughout the whole Christian dispensation. In his pulpit discourses also the preacher may make very frequent use of the admonitions conveyed by narrative of ecclesiastical events."¹

THOLUCK ON THE BENEFIT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

No branch of a minister's equipment for his important vocation is more needful than a thorough knowledge of the whole field of Church history. To understand and present the advantages of the religious life and to conceive properly the bearing of doctrine on character, are only a portion of the help that comes from the study of the history of the Church

VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY TO THE CLERGYMAN.

¹ Lectures on Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, in Bib. Sac., vol. 1, p. 569.

of Christ.¹ The value of history for present conduct in national and social life is constantly receiving greater recognition, and that the Church is appreciating its own dependence for instruction in all emergencies is abundantly proved by the greater activity in secular and ecclesiastical historiography during the last half century, and by the increasing reference to the precedents in history by the practical writers and preachers of our own times.²

¹ Compare the excellent brochure of Smyth, *Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education*, pp. 17, 23, 24. See also Cave, *Introduction to Theology*, Edinb., 1885, pp. 426-436, for a good discussion of the value of Church history; also the Introduction to Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*, pp. 17-79; the able address of De Witt, *Church History as a Science, as a Theological Discipline, and as a Mode of the Gospel*, Cincinnati, 1883, p. 52.

² The first supplement to Winer's *Handbuch der theol. Literatur*, published in 1842 (Leipzig), covers only the two years 1840-41, and yet records the issue of over five hundred works on ecclesiastical history. For a summary of labors in ecclesiastical history and biography see Schaff, *What is Church History?* pp. 15-24. In the *Theol. Jahresbericht* for 1891, 134 of the 344 pages are occupied with the literature of Church history. The list compiled by Samuel Macauley Jackson, LL.D., in the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, vol. v, 1893, comprises over seven hundred titles.

CHAPTER V.

SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE direct sources of Church history fall into two groups, original and secondary. To the original belong all official records, such as the confessions of the Church in all periods; the transactions and positive decrees of the ecumenical councils and other ecclesiastical bodies; the official documents of the popes, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers; rules of monastic and other orders; liturgical forms; living communities; civil regulations bearing on the Church; and the writings, in whatever department of theology, of theologians who took part in the events to which their works relate. To the original sources belong also all material monuments, such as commemorative pillars; ecclesiastical edifices, whether for worship or residence; sepulchral memorials; and ecclesiastical sculptures, castings, and paintings, and such inscriptions as may be on any of these monuments.

De Rossi, of Rome, has been the first to make the catacombs tell their full story of the sufferings and faith of the early Christians.¹ Hemans, son of the poetess and long a resident in Rome, has revealed the creation and progress of Christian art throughout Italy.² The labors of Piper, of the Berlin University;³ of Lord Lindsay, of England;⁴ of Kraus, of the Freiburg University;⁵ of that excellent gleaner, Augustus J. C. Hare;⁶ and of many other writers of important monographs, have been of invaluable utility in throwing light on the faith, general condition, and religious and social customs of the Church in its early periods. Monumental remains are of great importance in

WRITERS ON
CHRISTIAN
ARCHÆOLOGY.

¹ Roma Sotterranea, Rome, 1864-77; Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ, 1857-61.

² Story of Monuments in Rome; History of Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy, 3 vols., Florence and Lond., 1866-72.

³ Monumentale Theologie, Gotha, 1867; Mythologie der christlichen Kunst, 2 vols., Weimar, 1847-51. The late C. W. Bennett, a pupil of Piper, in his Christian Archæology, has produced one of the best books in this department, N. Y., 1888.

⁴ Sketches of the History of Christian Art, 3 vols., Lond., 1847; new ed., 2 vols., 1885.

⁵ Roma Sotterranea: Die römischen Katakomben, Freiburg, 2d ed., 1879.

⁶ Walks in Rome, Lond. and N. Y., 1871.

revealing clearly the times in which they were constructed, as for example, the mosaics in the ancient churches of Ravenna on early doctrine and usage,¹ the Church of St. Sophia on the Byzantine period of ecclesiastical art,² and the Irish and English abbeys on monastic life in the mediæval period.

To the secondary sources of Church history belong the reports of those who have seen, heard, or taken part in the events concerning which they have written; the narratives of historians who have derived their materials from original sources; popular and ecclesiastical traditions and legends; the accounts given by secular historians, sometimes disinterested and sometimes hostile. Pliny's³ remarkable description of the condition of the early Christians, in his letter to the Emperor Trajan, may be regarded as an example of this latter kind of testimony. The secondary sources, together with the monumental remains included in the original, are of special value in their reflection of light on the common life of the Church. The striking movements of the historic page must not be allowed to obscure the more modest currents, which have been equally influential in the general result. It is easy to watch the ostentatious and the glaring in narrative, but difficult to observe and appreciate the modest and retiring. The pilgrim along the paths of history sees more readily the sunflower than the violet. The few exalted characters come in for general treatment, while the vast multitude are not regarded, or, if so, with but a passing glance. Herder, whose *Spirit of Hebrew Poesy* is a proof of the warmth with which he could clothe the most remote past, and see moral beauty under the most deceptive disguises, says: "As the most beautiful acts of the individual Christian will be those of which the world has no knowledge, so the most interesting operations of Christianity will be those which are unnoticed in general history, those which are performed in the quiet circle of family friends."

The collateral sources of Church history are already numerous and constantly increasing. They may be classified as follows:

1. Ecclesiastical Philology. The languages in which the sources of the early history of the Church are found are the Greek and

¹ For exhaustive articles on the importance of the monumental remains of Ravenna to Church history, see *Brit. Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1872, and *Presb. Rev.*, Jan., 1880.

² For the contribution of the Church of St. Sophia to Church history, see Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople*, Lond., 1895.

³ Plinii, lib. x, epist. 96 (some eds., 97): C. Plinius Trajano.

Latin. No one can properly examine and fully comprehend the primitive and mediæval periods without a knowledge of these tongues, with the changes which they have undergone by the decadence of classical taste and by the application of those languages to Christian theology and life. The more thorough and broad the knowledge of the modern languages is, the more accurate will be the information concerning the Church history of the individual nations. No one can comprehend the English Reformation without a knowledge of the English language and even the Anglo-Saxon. Neither can the German, French, Italian, or Spanish Church be fully understood without acquaintance with the respective languages. The Roman Catholic Church still finds it convenient to employ the Latin to a great extent. The Russo-Greek Church pursues the same course with regard to the Greek of the mediæval period.

LANGUAGES
ESSENTIAL TO A
KNOWLEDGE
OF CHURCH
HISTORY.

2. Ecclesiastical Chronology. This is the science by which the various eras in the history of the Church are determined. It varies materially from the chronology of general history, but in some cases harmonizes with it. The era of the Seleucidæ begins with October 1 of the year 4402 of the Julian period, or B. C. 311,¹ the date of the occupation of Babylon by Seleucus Nicator and twelve years after the death of Alexander the Great. It is still in force among the Nestorian and other Syrian Christians. The Spanish era, beginning B. C. 38, the year of the conquest of Spain by Augustus Cæsar, continued in force in Spain until the fourteenth century and in Portugal until the fifteenth. The Diocletian era, sometimes called the era of the martyrs, began with August 29, A. D. 284, the first year of Diocletian's reign. It was used in the Roman empire under the Christian emperors, and is still in use by the Copts in Egypt. The Constantinopolitan era dates from the creation. According to it the incarnation took place in 5509. The civil year commences with September 1, and the ecclesiastical with March 21. The Russians used this chronology until Peter the Great, and ever since then, as before, it has been employed by the Greek Church. The Roman or pontifical indiction begins on December 25 or January 1, according as the Christian year was believed to begin with one or the other of these days. After Gregory VII it was frequently employed in papal bulls. The calendar of the French Republic, an attempt to abrogate the Christian reckoning of time, begins with September 22, 1792,

THE CHIEF
ERAS SINCE
THE FOURTH
CENTURY B. C.

¹ Brehm, Lehrbuch der histor. Propädeutik, p. 20.

² Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Chronology." At the end of this article is a copious bibliography of the subject.

and was introduced October 6, 1793. It was abandoned as a hopeless theory on September 9, 1805.¹

3. Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics. The history of the Church should be studied in connection with the territory occupied by Christian peoples. The progress of Christianity during the early period needs to be traced upon the map, and each new stage of propagation carefully observed. The Reformation cannot be properly understood without constant reference to its geographical landmarks. Its currents are as clearly defined as its doctrinal characteristics. Switzerland was influenced by the Zwinglian type of Protestantism in the east, which was met at Basle and Berne by the Calvinistic type coming from Geneva in the west; and while the latter gave tone to French Protestantism, and extended down the Rhine to Holland, and then crossed the English Channel, and finally reached a culmination in the Scotch Reformation under the leadership of Knox, the Lutheran type became predominant throughout Germany north of Heidelberg and the Main, extended up the Baltic provinces to the Gulf of Finland, and was the only form of Protestantism through the whole Scandinavian peninsula, and even in Iceland. The development of missions in heathen countries is an important branch of Church history. The science of the statistics of the Church is likewise becoming of great value, and requires constant attention on the part of the student of ecclesiastical history.²

4. Ecclesiastical Diplomatics. This science, founded by a Belgian Jesuit, Daniel Papebroch, deals with documents issued in the name of the Church and its chief officers. Under this head are comprised all declarations and official documents of the various confessions, and all papal bulls, imperial edicts, briefs, statutes, and patents. These last form an important factor in the early

¹ Brehm, *Lehrbuch der histor. Propädeutik*, pp. 32, 33.

² The best work on this subject is Wiltsh. *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, translated from the German by John Leitch, 2 vols., Lond., 1859-69. The *Atlas Sacer sive Ecclesiasticus*, with explanatory *excursus* (Gotha, 1843), by the same author, is the best ecclesiastical atlas extant. Wigger, *Kirchliche Statistik* (Hamburg, 1842-43), is still valuable. Schem's *Ecclesiastical Year Book* (N. Y., 1860) is the most important work of its character thus far published in the United States. A very valuable table of comparative statistics is given in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.*, art. *Religious Statistics*, taken from *Holtzmann u. Zöpffel's Lexikon für Theologie*, Leipz., 1882. For Christianity in the United States, the reports of the eleventh census (1890), published by the government and edited by H. K. Carroll, are singularly complete and instructive. An invaluable summary, embodying both history and statistics, is given by the same scholar in his *Religious Forces of the United States*. N. Y., 1893; rev. and enl. ed., 1896.

1871

colonial history of the United States. Schaff includes in diplomatics the special sciences of palæography, the science of ancient writings and manuscripts of the Bible, and Church fathers; sphragistics, the science of seals; numismatics, of coins; and heraldries, of weapons.¹

5. General and Special History. No adequate knowledge of the history of the Church can be obtained without the careful study of the various branches of general historical science. The philosophy, literature, politics, and art of a nation impinge upon the religious life at every stage; they are, indeed, interwoven with it. The later writers of general history have seen this so clearly that they have given great prominence to that of the Church. Macaulay, Prescott, Motley, and Froude have given us records as invaluable for a proper understanding of the Church as of the political, literary, and social relations of the countries which they have treated. To attempt to comprehend the Reformation without a careful inquiry into the humanistic, social, and political condition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would be a hopeless undertaking. The same holds true not less of the regular course of ecclesiastical history than of all its important crises. As the history of the Church furnishes the key to all history, so all departments of history are needful for a skillful use of the key.

ALL DEPART-
MENTS OF HIS-
TORY ESSEN-
TIAL TO THE
STUDY OF THE
HISTORY OF
THE CHURCH.

¹ Church History, vol. i, pp. 31, 32.

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CHAPTER VI.

LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE historiography of the Church has developed from such humble beginnings as the disjointed and questionable accounts of the earliest Greek collectors, into an elaborate and well-organized department of scientific research. Its progress from Hegesippus, in the second century, to Neander, in the nineteenth, is as great as the fabled growth of the world, as described by Ovid, from the golden to the iron age. The oldest historical records of Christianity are contained in the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and such part of the pastoral and general epistles as throw incidental light on the condition and growth of the Church in that genetic period. The second and third centuries witnessed the struggle of Christianity for existence and expansion. There was neither the motive nor the adaptation to record the story of its brief life. Its literary energies were required for combating error, formulating faith, and making sure a life whose history might well be committed to a more judicial future.

The writers of ecclesiastical history may be grouped into five general classes :

1. The early Greek historians. Hegesippus, a Christian convert from Judaism, living in Asia Minor, wrote his *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical Affairs* in the middle of the second century.¹ He was simply a collector of such historical traditions as he could glean from aged people and others most likely to give him information concerning the events of the former half of the second century. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, was the first writer who can be called in any sense a reliable historian of the Church. He bears the same relation to ecclesiastical historiography that Herodotus does to secular, and has been fitly called the "father of Church history." His *History of the Church*, in ten books, extends from the birth of Christ to the year 324. The Emperor Constantine, who was his personal friend, placed at his disposal all the

¹ Ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων, 5 vols. The fragments of his work—all that is preserved—have been gathered by Routh, i., 189, ff., and Galland, ii, 59. For a translation of these fragments, see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Ch. Lit. ed., vol. viii, pp. 762-65.

political and ecclesiastical archives of the empire. In addition, Eusebius, besides making copious use of the gospels, did not hesitate to introduce material from the apocryphal writings, traditions, and all other available sources.¹ He even incorporated without change much of the legendary matter of Hegesippus. He also wrote a Life of Constantine, which has a measure of historical value, but is too laudatory to be accepted without qualification.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, island of Cyprus, wrote a work against the prevailing heresies, which possesses value as a record of the contemporary opposition to Christianity. Philip Sidetes, in Pamphylia, wrote a superficial and ill-arranged history at the close of the fourth century. Then came Philostorgius, the Eunomian, who wrote a history of the period A. D. 300–423, with the purpose of proving that Arianism was none other than original Christianity. The works of both these authors have been lost, and without any appreciable detriment to historical literature.²

EPIPHANY
AND OTHER
WRITERS.

In the fifth century we meet with the first real successors of Eusebius—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius. Socrates wrote a continuation of the history of Eusebius, extending it to the year 439; Sozomen gave a narrative of the same period, but with the introduction of much irrelevant matter; Theodoret, of Mesopotamia, continued the history of Eusebius to the year 518; and Evagrius, of Antioch, continued the works of his immediate predecessors down to 594. The work of the Greek historians, as a body, was conducted amid great difficulties. As soon as Christianity became tolerated and was made the religion of the State, in the fourth century, the facilities for independent inquiry were multiplied. But there was a constant danger of exaggerating the traditional and marvelous elements.

SUCCESSORS
OF EUSEBIUS.

On the other hand, the histories of these writers were written near the scene of the events and in the atmosphere of the first centers of Christian thought, and hence there is a strong general presumption in favor of the main body of their narratives. After making all just allowance for the apocryphal material which they

¹ Flügel, Versuch einer Geschichte d. theolog. Wissenschaften, part ii, pp. 321, ff. The best work on Eusebius is the translation by Prof. McGiffert, with copious notes (N. Y., 1890), a magnificent monument to American learning. It is rich in materials for Church history. The most convenient edition of the text for the student is that by Bright (text by Burton), Lond., 2d ed., 1882.

² Photinus has preserved a part of Philostorgius, and these extracts have been translated in Bohn's Sozomen.

may have subsidized, there must still remain a large measure of positive history.

2. The early Latin historians. These men, far removed from the Eastern theater of religious activity, rendered but little service to the early historiography of the Church. The Roman was always a borrower from the Greek. His best philosophy was only an Italian reproduction of that of the Stoa. His drama was merely the thin disguise of the masterpieces of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In the first Roman historians of the Church there was the same dependence upon the first group of Greek historians. There was no claim to original investigation. Rufinus, of Aquileia,

RUFINUS AND writing about the year 400, translated and modified
JEROME. the history of Eusebius, bringing it down to A. D. 395. Had he confined his labors to a translation, he would have rendered valuable service to the Christians of the West who spoke the Latin tongue, but he made so many alterations and additions, and yet without sufficient ground, that his work possesses but little value. Jerome prepared a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, which possesses value because of its preserving from oblivion the names and writings of many writers of the earliest period.¹

Sulpicius Severus, of Gaul, wrote in 403 his Sacred History, extending from the creation to A. D. 400.² It is only a summary of the better parts of the works of the Greek writers. The style is, however, close and attractive, and has gained for him the name of the Christian Sallust. Of more importance is the *De Viris Illustribus* by Gennadius, of Marseilles (d. circ. 518), a continuation of the catalogue of Jerome. It is impartial, and based on extensive research.³ Paul Orosius wrote his Seven Books of History against the Heathen in 417, a work of too much apologetic character to be of value as a reliable history.⁴ Cassiodorus, once a Roman statesman in Ostrogothic service, wrote a Tripartite History,⁵ which was a condensation of the continuations of Eusebius. It was the best work on Church history produced by the early Western Church, and served as its text-book during the whole mediæval period.

¹ *Catalogus virorum illustrium sive scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*; best ed. Villarsi, Verona, 1734-42; trans. by E. C. Richardson, N. Y., 1892.

² *Chronica*; best ed., Halm., Vienna, 1866.

³ In Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii; trans. by Richardson, N. Y., 1892.

⁴ Best ed., Zangemeister in Corp. Srip. Eccl. Lat., Vienna, 1882. For King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation with English version, see Pauli, Lat. of King Alfred, Lond., 1853. Orosius was much used in the Middle Ages.

⁵ *Historia Tripartita*. In Migne, vols. lxi, lxx. His most important book his Letters, rich in historical material (trans. by Hodgkin, Oxford, 1886).

3. Historians of the Mediæval period. During the Middle Ages there was a general stagnation in historical studies. The Greek Church had been largely consumed by internal controversy, and its territory was reduced by the conquests of Mohammedanism. The best historical works of the Latin Church were chiefly monographs on the missionary fields. Nicephorus Callistus, a preacher of Constantinople, wrote, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a History of the Church from the Time of Christ to the year 610. A portion of his work, five out of twenty-three books of which it consisted, has been lost.¹ He made full use of his predecessors, and, being probably a monk connected with St. Sophia, enjoyed the full privilege of the great library of the church. The historical work of Eutychius, of Alexandria, written in Arabic about the year 950, and describing the time from the creation to the year 940, possesses value only because of some confused memoranda descriptive of the rise of Mohammedanism.

HISTORIANS OF
THE EASTERN
CHURCH.

The Byzantine historians² wrote at intervals during a period of one thousand years, from 500 to 1500. Their works are of chief value in civil history, but, incidentally, they throw important light on the relations of the Eastern Church to the government. The best of their productions is the Paschal Chronicle.³ It covers the period from the creation to the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, or A. D. 630. It seems to be the work of two authors (some say of three), neither of whom is now known, one writing of the period to the year 354, and the other completing the history.

BYZANTINE
HISTORIANS.

The Latin Church, although much farther developed, and with less opposition than the Greek, was nearly as unproductive of ecclesiastical history as the Greek. Society was unsettled. There were constant migrations and consuming wars, while within the pale of the Church there was a great decline of spiritual life and theological development. There were annalists of secular affairs, but they usually wrote in the interest of the ruler or conqueror, and their chronicles are of little value toward understanding the actual history of the mediæval Church. The Pontifical Book⁴ contains an account of the popes down to the death of Stephen VI,

¹ The only copy of the remaining eighteen books was found in a single manuscript in the Vienna Library. It was published in a Latin translation in Antwerp, 1560; Paris, 1562 and 1573; in Frankfort, 1588 and 1618. The Greek text, edited by Fronto Ducaeus, first appeared in Paris in 1620.

² *Scriptores Historiæ Byzantiæ*. Best ed. Berlin, 1828-55, 48 vols. See *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., art. "Byzantine Historians."

³ *Chronicon Paschale*.

⁴ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Busæus. Mayence, 1602.

A. D. 891. The librarian Anastasius was for a long time supposed to be the author, but it has been recently proved that the biographies of the last popes are the only product of his pen.¹ This work possesses value both as a papal and general Church history of the period treated by it. The best general Church history produced during the Middle Ages was the *Historical Summary*,² by the Archbishop Antonine, of Florence, which extends from the creation to the year 1459. Of other works in Church history the following may be mentioned: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bishop Haymo,³ of Halberstadt, about 853; the *Ecclesiastical History* of the abbot Odericus Vitalis,⁴ of Normandy, about 1150; and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bartholomew,⁵ a Dominican monk of Lucca, about 1300.

The special or national ecclesiastical historians are of chief value during the mediæval period. The best of these were the *Church History of the Franks*, by Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, and the *Church History of the Anglo-Saxon People*, by the Venerable Bede,⁶ who died in 735. The *History of the Lombards*, by Paul Diaconus,⁷ was only a civil history, but it possesses value because it stands nearly alone as an authority on the ecclesiastical condition of that people. The author wrote his history to the year 773, but it was continued by Erchempertus to 889. Adam of Bremen,⁸ who lived in the eleventh century, wrote a Church history of the bishoprics of Bremen and Hamburg, which, incidentally, embraced a description of ecclesiastical progress in all the Scandinavian countries. Its chief value lies in its preservation of original documents bearing on the evangelization of Northern Europe. Albert Krantz, who died in 1517, wrote a Church history of Northern Germany. It related chiefly to Ham-

**SPECIAL MEDI-
ÆVAL CHURCH
HISTORIANS.**

¹ Hefele, Tübinger theol. Quartalsschrift, 1845, pp. 130 ff.

² Summa Historialis. Latest ed. in Opera. Florence, 1741, 8 vols.

³ In Migne. Pat. Lat. cxvi-cxviii. Haymo denied that Peter founded the Roman Church, and in other respects anticipated a freer age.

⁴ Best ed., by A. le Prevost. Paris, 1838-55, 5 vols. Eng. trans. by Forester. in Bohn's Library. Lond., 1853-56, 4 vols. This is one of the finest products of the Middle Ages.

⁵ In Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. XI, 741-750. The first attempt made in the West to write a distinctively Church history.

⁶ Best ed. in Opera, by Arndt and Krusch. Hanover, 1883.

⁷ Best ed., by Mayor and Lumby, Camb. Univ. Press, 1892. Best trans. by Giles, with Anglo-Saxon Chron. Lond. and N. Y., 1847; and by Gidley. Lond. 1870.

⁸ In Migne. Pat. Lat. xcv, cols. 413-1710. Ger. trans. by von Spruner. Hamb., 1838.

⁹ Best ed. in Pertz, Monumenta Ger. (ed. by Lappenberg).

burg, Bremen, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.¹ Among the secular annalists whose labors have aided toward an understanding of the Church of the Middle Ages, the following may be mentioned: Regius, of the ninth century; Hermann and Lambert, of the eleventh; Otto and Siegbert, of the twelfth; and Matthew, of Paris, of the thirteenth.²

4. Historians of the period of the Reformation. Until the German reformers appeared Church history had been entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a strange combination of legend and fact, and no one had possessed independence enough to question the accuracy of the received histories and to begin the process of sifting. But when the Reformation became established the attention of German Protestant thinkers was directed toward the regeneration of this department of theology. In the revival of classic learning in Italy, FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH HISTORIANS. which had extended to France and Germany, historical studies had shared largely. But the history of the Church was too distinctively theological to receive a decided impulse from humanism. In fact, humanism was skeptical and out of sympathy with ecclesiastical thought and life. It was a purely literary movement, but, undesignedly, it had a direct bearing on sacred subjects.

It was seen by the reformers, and particularly by Melancthon, that the history of the Church would need to be entirely rewritten; and that unless the existing theology were made to give up a large measure of its fanciful annals, the theological reform would be but half achieved. The result was the adoption of a scheme (in large measure fulfilled) for a complete history of the Church. It bore the title of the Magdeburg Centuries. Matthias Flacius, a pastor of Magdeburg, organized the work. He gathered able collaborators about him, the chief of whom were Wigand, Judex, THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES. Faber, Corvinus, and Holzhueter. The work was in thirteen folio volumes, each volume being devoted to a century, and each century divided into sixteen subdivisions. The Magdeburg Centuries, although based on the unphilosophical and

¹ Krantz's Histories have not as yet been reprinted. They are written in a free spirit, and were put on the Index by Clement VIII.

² Most of the chronicles and biographies of this period are to be found in the collected works. A survey of them is contained in Freher, *Directorium historicorum medii potissimum ævi, post Freherum, et iteratas Koeleri curas rec. et emend. et auxit Hambergerus.* Gottingen, 1772. Compare also Rössler, *De annalium medii ævi varia conditione.* Tübingen, 1788; von Raumer, *Handbuch merkwürd. Stellen aus den lateinischen Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters.* Breslau, 1813; and Lochner, *Das deutsche Mittelalter in den wesent. Zeugnissen seiner geschichtl. Urkunden.* Nuremb., 1848.

unnatural principle of the centurial division of periods, produced a literary revolution in the Church second only to the one wrought by Luther and Melancthon in the field of doctrinal theology. It proved a powerful agent in exposing the errors into which Roman Catholic historians had fallen, and gained a literary recognition for the new Protestantism in circles hitherto untouched.¹

The Roman Catholic Church was suddenly thrown on the defensive, and in a direction entirely unanticipated by it. The work produced consternation in every European country that had not become Protestant, and even in Rome itself. The effect was an upheaval of all the historical records of Romanism. It was the successful appeal of Protestantism to history as a justification of its right to existence. As an antidote to the Magdeburg Centuries.

BARONIUS. Cæsar Baronius, of Rome, published his Ecclesiastical

Annals. All the literary treasures of the Roman Catholic Church were placed at his disposition. His work occupied thirty years in composition, consisted of twelve volumes, and was nineteen years in process of publication in Rome (1588-1607).² The time treated by Baronius was twelve centuries, or down to 1198. His work is a great achievement. But, while reproducing many of the traditions of the early histories, it passed over some of the more ridiculous in silence, and thus surrendered them. As a literary work, in all the essentials of historical accuracy, research, vigor, and symmetry of construction, it fell far below the Magdeburg Centuries. The work of Baronius was continued, at different times, by Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. Less important are the continuations of Bzovius, Spondanus, and Rinal. So far as a Protestant reply was needed, the task was performed by Casaubon, in 1614, and by Spanheim, in 1687.

5. Protestant Church historians. The example of the Magdeburg Centuries proved the ability of Protestantism for thorough

¹ The whole title of the Magdeburg Centuries was: *Ecclesiastica historia integræ ecclesiæ cath. ideam complectens, etc., congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica*. Basil., 1560-74. Wigand wrote a continuation—the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries—which was never printed. Lucius, in 1624, and Semler, in 1757 and following years, also published contributions, each in six volumes. Luc. Osiander published an extract of the Magdeburg Centuries in eight volumes, Tübingen, 1592, and later Cf. Kurtz, *Handb. d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 15, 16.

² Best ed. by A. Theiner, Bar-le-duc and Paris, 1864-83, 37 vols. This contains the continuations of Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. The corrections of Pagi (*Critica hist.-chron. in Annales Baronii*, Paris, 1689-1705, 4 vols. fol.) are appended as footnotes in the splendid edition of Baronius by Mansi, Lucæ, 1733-59, 33 vols.

historical research. The historical spirit has from that beginning distinguished every Protestant period and all Protestant countries. "Before the Reformation," says Schaff, "the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now he rose by reflection above it, and instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true, and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the Church itself to critical examination, judging it without regard to papal decrees according to the word of God and common reason."¹

TRANSFORMA-
TION OF HIS-
TORIOGRAPHY
BY THE REFOR-
MATION.

In Protestant ecclesiastical historiography we observe the following departments:

(1.) The Confessional and Orthodox. Here, as in the three succeeding departments, Germany has made the most important contributions. First in order after Flaccius, and first in the line of Church historians of the Reformed Church, stands Hottinger, the author of the Ecclesiastical History of the New Testament. It was completed in 1667, and treats the history of the Church down to the sixteenth century. Spanheim, of Holland, wrote a Summary of Ecclesiastical History which extends over about the same period, and was published in 1689. The most of the historiography of this period had a strongly confessional tendency, for it was the time of sharp antagonism between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The works of Chemnitz, Gerhard, and Quenstedt are fair illustrations of a large class of doctrinal theologians who made ample but not always legitimate use of history in defense of their confessional position.

CONFESSIONAL
HISTORIANS.

(2.) The Pietistic historians. Pietism marks the German theological boundary between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was one of the most important movements in the modern Church. Spener, its founder, protested against the exhausting controversies, and contended for a return to the letter and spirit of the Scriptures. With his death pietism passed out of its calmest and purest period. The first and only great pietistic historian was Gottfried Arnold, the author of the Impartial History of the Church and Heretics (1699). It treated the period from the beginning of the New Testament to the year 1688. His purpose was altogether new in ecclesiastical historiography. He aimed to show that not only was Roman Catholicism corrupt, but that rigid sectarians in all periods had violated the essential spirit of Christianity, and that pure piety, in whatever form, was the necessary savor which had preserved the Church from utter

GOTTFRIED
ARNOLD.

¹ History of the Apostolic Church, p. 63.

ruin. He gave all possible credit to schismatics in all periods, and commended them for having saved the Church from destruction. Not doctrinal correctness, but moral purpose and spiritual enthusiasm, was with him the great criterion of excellence and service. Spener heartily disapproved of it, though the Pietists, as a class, indorsed it. Its thorough independence of confessional restraints, its recognition of the overlooked and despised characters in history, and its charity toward those who had been branded as heretics and died by violence or in exile, constituted it a transitional work from the old and narrow and rigid modes of historical interpretation to the new and more liberal judgment which has ever since prevailed in Germany. "No historical work," says Baur, "has ever borne more decidedly than Arnold's the subjective impress of the author's spirit."¹

(3.) The Rationalistic historians. Ecclesiastical history follows in the order of theological changes. Pietism was succeeded in Germany by rationalism. The rationalistic mode of treating the history of the Church was a part of the general reaction which began in the middle of the eighteenth century. Semler

SEMLER.

was the first historian who represented the tendency. He was, indeed, the first to bring rationalism out of the narrow limits of the Wolfian philosophy, and to apply it to the entire domain of theology. His principal historical works were his *Select Chapters of Church History*, 1767, and his *Historical Commentary on the Ancient State of Christianity*, 1771. Semler had no adequate conception of the Church as an organic unity, but regarded it as the theater for the play of individual affinities. Christ gave to his disciples the right of private judgment, and the history of the Church shows how this has been freely and properly exercised, and that the true and the good can be perceived here in better form than in public religion. There is nothing permanent and steady in the life of the Church. The Church in its organic form has been of less service than in its disjointed and individual relations. The ocean is good, but its drops are better. The Church is an agglomeration of individuals, each having his complete vitality and independence. We here see the fundamental thought of Semler's entire theology—the right of the individual.

Henke, in his *General History of the Christian Church*,² may be regarded as the leading historian of the rationalistic school. He wrote in a sarcastic spirit, and charged a large measure of the errors

¹ *Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung*, p. 106. Leipz., 1852. Baur gives a very accurate analysis of this remarkable work on pp. 85-107. Best ed., Schaffhausen, fol., 1740-42, 3 vols. ² 6 vols., 1789-1808.

of the Church to the despotism of doctrinal and ecclesiastical restraints. His work was edited and continued by Vater. In the works of Schmidt¹ and Danz² we observe rather an indifference to the spiritual element in history than a positive rationalism.

HENKE,
SCHMIDT,
DANZ, AND
OTHERS.

Crossing the channel we find the last of the race of English deists busily engaged in writing history, and, whenever they could, eliminating from general history the positive Christian element. Hume's History of England (1754-62) is tinged with a bitter Toryism throughout, a one-sided record of the rise and growth of the English people and their government. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-88), perhaps the greatest historical work ever written, though somewhat hostile in spirit to the Church, is invaluable for its marshaling of facts, and for its free, broad, masterly treatment of the whole historical movement from the third century to the middle of the fifteenth. Later researches have corrected Gibbon in but few particulars, and this wonderful monument of patient industry remains to this day as much an authority as ever.³ Priestley wrote, in the full rationalistic spirit, a History of the Corruptions of Christianity (1782),⁴ in which he endeavored to show that the history of the Church was fundamentally a departure from the spirit, practice, and commands of Christ and his apostles. Priestley, however, will be less known to posterity as an historian than as the discoverer of oxygen.

HUME AND
GIBBON.

(4.) The Liberal Orthodox. Mosheim was the founder of the modern scientific method of ecclesiastical historiography. He still adhered to the fanciful centurial division of Flaccius, but was painstaking and accurate, and dealt justly with all characters and periods. He was a distinguished preacher, and while he wrote in faultless Latin he was not less thorough in his researches or less judicious in his management of materials. His Dissertation on the History of the Church was issued in 1743, and his Commentary on Christian Affairs anterior to Constantine in 1753. His masterpiece was his Institutes of Ancient and Modern Church History, published in 1755. It was translated from the Latin into German with additions and continuation by Von Einem, and issued in 1769. This work has passed through many editions and into the leading modern languages, and in a more or less disguised form

MOSHEIM AND
SCHROECKH.

¹ Handbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte. Giessen, 1801, and later; continued by Rottberg. Schmidt anticipated Gieseler in quotations from the sources, etc.

² Lehrbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte. Jena, 1817-26.

³ Best ed. by Smith, with notes by Guizot, Wenck, and Milman, N. Y., 1890, 6 vols. Latest ed. by Bury, vol. i, Lond. and N. Y., 1896. ⁴ Best ed., Lond., 1871.

has long been the basis for text-books in Church history in most Protestant countries. It has been completely superseded in Germany by works of more modern character, but still holds a place in Great Britain.¹ Schroeckh's Christian Church History is the largest work in its department in the whole field of German theology. It appeared in forty-five volumes, beginning in 1768 and concluding in 1810. The last ten volumes are by the masterly hand of Tzschirner. We find in it a vast mass of important matter, with but little attempt at scientific classification. Schroeckh was the disciple of Mosheim, and his work is fair, sound in the main, and still indispensable. Planck was a rigid defender of orthodoxy. His History of the Rise, Changes, and Development of Protestant Doctrine appeared in 1791, and was the most important contribution to doctrinal history during the eighteenth century. Stäudlin wrote several important monographs, his Universal History of the Christian Church being especially valuable as a compendium of facts. The Text-book of Church History by Gieseler, one of the best fruits of this school, is a dry recital of facts in a thoroughly critical and impartial spirit. It is invaluable for its study of the sources, many of which are largely quoted, or transferred bodily at the foot of the text. This makes Gieseler's work unique.² Hase has written a History of the Christian Church in a moderately rationalistic spirit. It is an artistic presentation, bright, with many original and pregnant characterizations.³

¹ I remember that once when listening to a lecture by Tholuck, in Halle, that veteran teacher smiled with evident composure as he mentioned the fact that Mosheim's History was still used as a text-book at Oxford. John Wesley published an abridgment of Mosheim, and an Anglican clergyman performed the same service. This latter work was made the basis of a Church history by Ruter, published in New York, which first appeared as the work of a firm bearing the name of Ruter's Gregory's Mosheim's Church History. That work in time lost its partnership and finally appeared as Ruter's Church History. But Mosheim can be seen on every page of the poor plagiarism. There have been many editions in English of Mosheim's Institutes. The best is by Stubbs, Lond., 1862. That by Murdock, new ed., N. Y., 1874, 3 vols., is enriched by the copious notes of that industrious Andover scholar, one of the founders of the science of Church History in America. The other editions are of little value. The Commentary on pre-Constantine Affairs, also by Murdock, N. Y., 1853, 2 vols., is full of learning and acute disquisitions.

² The American edition of Gieseler, by the late Prof. H. B. Smith, D.D. (N. Y., 1855-80, 5 vols.), is very superior to either the original German or Scotch edition, because of the copious Anglo-Saxon literature. It is a model of judicious editing.

³ The 7th ed. was translated by Blumenthal and Wing, N. Y., 1855. A translation of the last edition is a *desideratum*.

(5.) The German Mediator School. Out of the conflicts of German theology on the respective claims of faith and science there arose the Mediator School, which sought to reconcile the two. Schleiermacher, in his own remarkable personality and labors, constitutes the transition from the cold rationalism of the eighteenth century to the scientific evangelical theology of the nineteenth.

SCHLEIER-
MACHER.

Neander was the first German theologian who stood fairly on the positive side. He spent his best efforts in historical studies. He was fascinated by the Church in its genetic stage, and no man of any age has equaled him in ability to penetrate its mysteries, separate the true from the false, discover the pure and worthy in our common Christianity, and clothe the life of the Church in vigorous and sympathetic language. His purpose was: "To exhibit the history of the Church of Christ as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof for all who are disposed to listen." He believed that the force and significance of the Church lay in its individual life rather than in its universal character. His monographs on Julian, the Gnostics, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Bernard indicated his emphasis on the value of the spiritually illuminated individual as a factor in the development of the Church. His great work, for which all his previous works were only a preparation, bears the title of *History of the Christian Religion and Church*.¹ It was well said at his grave, "The last of the Church fathers has gone." His thirty-seven years as professor in Berlin, his gentle and loving spirit and childlike faith, the enthusiasm with which he lectured and wrote on the history of the Church, and his profound learning had the effect of imparting and enkindling an unparalleled interest in historical studies.

NEANDER.

The best writers in historical theology who have appeared in Germany during the last three decades belong to the school of Neander. Hagenbach delivered his *History of the Church* in the form of lectures to his students in

NEANDER'S
SCHOOL.

¹ Preface to first edition of *General History of Christian Religion and Church*, vol. 1, p. 6.

² Trans. by Torrey, Bost., 12th ed., 1881, 5 vols. and Index vol. The history extends to 1430. Neander's *Hist. of Dogmas*, ed. by Jacobi, and his *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Church*—both invaluable works—are published in Bohn's Standard Library. See Schaff, *Augustine, Melancthon, and Neander*, N. Y., 1886.

Basle, and excels in freedom, clearness, and beauty of diction.¹ Kurtz has written an excellent History of the Church, but it is too encyclopedic to be attractive and inspiring.² The Manual of Church History by Guericke is an attempt to combine the history of the Church with a history of doctrine.³ Niedner, the successor of Neander at Berlin, and Semisch, the successor of Niedner, have each written in the spirit of their master, Neander.⁴

The whole field of historical theology has been worked over in recent years in Germany with the utmost enthusiasm. A new spirit came in with Harnack, the disciple of Ritschl. **HARNACK AND OTHERS.** a successor of Neander in Berlin University. With a clear view of Christianity as a supernatural force, and yet with a minimizing of miraculous details, Harnack has subjected the early literature to a penetrating criticism, and has given a fresh view of the growth of doctrine in his Dogma-History.⁵

There has been a remarkable advance in the ecclesiastical historiography of the German theologians in the most recent years. It is impossible, in brief space, to individualize them. Zahn has made some fresh studies of great importance. The *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, and the numerous other scientific journals of theology and history have done much for the advancement of this study in Germany. The historical articles in the new edition of Herzog's Encyclopædia, edited by Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, are exhaustive discussions giving the recent views.

(6.) The Tübingen historians. This group of historians of the Church is of combined rationalistic and pantheistic spirit. Ferdinand Christian Baur, Professor in the University of Tübingen, was its chief representative. He carried into the domain of ecclesiastical history one of the fundamental principles of the Hegelian

¹ Best ed., by Nippold, Leipz., 1885-87. Trans. in part in *Hist. of the Reformation*, Edinb., 1873, 2 vols.; and *Hist. of the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, trans. by Hurst, N. Y., 1869, 2 vols. Best ed. of Hagenbach *Hist. of Doctrine*, by Benrath, 1888, trans., Edinb., 1890, 3 vols.

² All previous translations are superseded by Macpherson's from the 9th and 10th ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1890, 3 vols. See *Ch. Q. R.* (Lond.), xxix, 233; xxx, 499.

³ The American edition, by W. G. T. Shedd, 2 vols., Andover, 1857-70, comes only to A. D. 1073.

⁴ *Lehrbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte*, last ed., Berl., 1866. Niedner wrote a number of works for the exclusive use of his students. Semisch has written only monographs.

⁵ 1886-89, 2 vols. A translation of Harnack's smaller work on the same subject has been made by Prof. Mitchell, of Hartford Theological Seminary (N. Y. and Lond., 1894), and the first volume of a translation of the large history has been published, 1896.

philosophy: the subordination of the individual to the general; the control of all minds and the ordering of all events by what he calls a rational world-spirit, whose laws are necessary and infallible. Christianity is considered rather a fruit of this spirit than itself creative; the servant rather than the master. Baur, in his *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*,¹ makes the apostolic period his chief field of attack upon the evangelical school. The contention of Baur is that early Christianity was composed of two elements, Paulinism and Petrinism, and that the Catholic Church of the second and third centuries was the result of the conciliation of this primitive Judaism and Universalism. Later studies have shown that Baur greatly exaggerated the antagonism between the Jewish and Christian elements, and his various conclusions concerning the New Testament writings have been revised. The spiritual sense in him was overshadowed by an intense intellectualism, and this unfitted him for weighing spiritual phenomena. But his influence on historical research has been most profound, and he first marked the way along which much fruitful work has been done. He was the founder of the Tübingen school, which has long since had its day.

BAUR AND THE
TÜBINGEN
SCHOOL

Strauss, whose *Life of Jesus* appeared in 1835, applied destructive criticism to the Gospel history. It was the natural culmination of the pantheistic theology taught in Tübingen. Zeller has written in the spirit of Baur. Much of the Tübingen virus has passed into the present German Protestant Association, whose center is the Heidelberg University. This organization proposes to do away with all confessional restraints, and to introduce the so-called liberalism into every theological department. Schenkel, in his *Character of Jesus Portrayed*,² was the first to define a doctrinal policy for the new movement.

STRAUSS AND
ZELLER.

Nippold, of Heidelberg, later of Bern, now of Jena, has written a *History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century*, from the point of view of the German Protestant Association. All the history produced by this school betrays a total absence of appreciation of the deep religious life of the Church, and of the supernatural force whence it derives its origin and spirit. Rothe, when he wrote his *Beginnings of the Christian Church and Constitution* (1837), had not exhibited any sympathy with this free-thinking group. In his last years, however, with the

NIPPOLD.

¹ Second ed., Leipz., 1866. Eng. trans., Lond., 1873-75, 2 vols. See also his *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 3d ed., 1863. Eng. trans., Lond., 1873-79, 3 vols. ² American ed., by Furness, 2 vols. Bost., 1866.

skeptical tendency in the other lecture rooms of Heidelberg, and depressed by serious domestic affliction, he used language at variance with his earnest and evangelical sermons delivered at Rome when chaplain in the Prussian Embassy, and with his masterly *Ethics and Beginnings*. But the evidence is too strong against his having given any hearty support to men of the Schenkel school, although they used all possible effort to get the support of his strong name.

(7.) The Evangelical historians of other European countries. In England very decided interest in historical theology has been awakened during the last few decades. One of the first effects of the Tractarian movement at Oxford in 1833, under the leadership of Pusey, Keble, and John Henry Newman, was a new interest in the purer and better days of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most original of these historical studies was Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, which appeared in 1845, shortly before his formal entrance into the Roman Catholic Church.

The historical writings of the English theologians were, however, not at all confined to the Tractarian leaders. Waddington, Dean of Durham, wrote a clear and concise *History of the Church* (1833), covering the ancient and mediæval periods, and, later, a *History of the Reformation on the Continent* (1841).
WADDINGTON,
MILMAN, AND
STANLEY. Milman has written a *History of Christianity*, a *History of Latin Christianity*, and a *History of the Jews*.¹ His style is attractive, and his *Latin Christianity* especially is a noble monument to his great scholarship, liberal views, and fine historical sense. Dean Stanley has excelled all the Church historians of England in the glow and purity of his style and in the arrangement of his material. His chief historical works are: *History of the Eastern Church*, and *History of the Jewish Church*. His *History of the Church of Scotland* is of less value.² James Craigie Robertson, Professor of Church History in King's College, London (d. 1882), wrote a *History of the Christian Church to the Reformation*.³ It is a dry piece of historical patchwork, but it is fair, written from the sources, and is a convenient chronological work.

Robert Vaughan (d. 1868) was one of the most thorough students and discriminating writers on the origins of the Nonconforming Churches. His *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, *Religious Parties in England*, and *English Nonconformity* are excellent monographs.

¹ New and revised ed. of his historical works was published in 15 vols., 1866-67. Beware of earlier editions.

² New ed. of his works. Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

³ New ed. Lond. and N. Y., 1873-75, 8 vols.

Hisson, the saintly Robert Alfred Vaughan, lived only long enough to produce, in his *Hours with the Mystics*,¹ the best work on the history and opinions of the Mystics in any language. Stoughton has written a *History of Religion in England*, extending from the opening of the Long Parliament to the end of the eighteenth century (new and rev. ed., 1881, 6 vols.). Perry, in his *History of the Church of England*, has described the Established Church from the death of Elizabeth to the present time.

THE VAUGHANS
AND STOUGHTON.

Much valuable information on the ecclesiastical development of England is to be found in the works of Hunt and Tulloch, who treat theology rather than history, and of Green, who shows how far the progress of England is owing to the presence of the religious element in all stages of her growth.²

In France, Matter, a professor in Strasburg when Alsace belonged to France, wrote a *General History of the Christian Church*;³ while his *History of Moral and Political Doctrines of the First Three Centuries*,⁴ and his *Critical History of Gnosticism*,⁵ throw special light on these departments of ecclesiastical history. The historical labors of Pressensé, with the exception of his *Religion and the Reign of Terror*, have been confined to the early period. He has written largely with an apologetic purpose in view, and with glowing style and profound sympathy with his themes.⁶

FRENCH HISTORIANS.

In Switzerland, Merle d' Aubigné held a high place as an ecclesiastical historian. While yet a young man he chose the Reformation as his field, and adhered to his purpose, with the exception of some minor monographs, throughout his life. His *History of the Reformation*⁷ has been translated into all the principal languages, and, while it has been superseded by later works and is no longer an authority, it is a brilliant and, in the main, correct account by an enthusiast. Professor Chastel, of Geneva, in his *History of Christianity*,⁸ produced a work of great

SWISS HISTORIANS.

¹ 1856; 6th ed., 1893.

² Hunt, *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of the Last Century*, 3 vols., Lond., 1870-73. Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols., Edinb., 1872. Green, *History of the English People*, 4 vols. Best ed., N. Y., 1895.

³ 2d ed., 4 vols., Paris, 1838.

⁴ Prize essay of the French Academy. Paris, 1836-37.

⁵ 2d ed., 2 vols., Strasburg, 1843.

⁶ *Hist. of the First Three Centuries of the Chr. Church*, Eng. trans., Lond. and N. Y., 1869-78.

⁷ Best ed. *Hist. of Reformation*, N. Y., 1863-79, 5 vols. for Lutheran Reformation, and 8 vols. for Reformation in Time of Calvin.

⁸ *Histoire du Christianisme*, Paris (new ed., 8 vols.), 1881-84.

learning and ability, abounding in valuable historical monographs. The late Ernest Renan followed his *Life of Christ* with a *History of the Origins of Christianity*, written in fascinating style, and, especially on Marcus Aurelius and the second century, he has presented much new and striking matter.¹ Paul Sabatier has published a *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (1894) which has attracted considerable attention for its human interest and impartial method. It is one of the best studies of the Middle Ages. Its author, a Protestant, received the pope's blessing for his work, but the book, nevertheless, received the honor of being placed in the Index.

In Holland we meet with the names of Hofstede de Groot, Spanheim, and Venema, whose Church histories reach to the sixteenth century and are written with abundant learning. The works of Basnages, father and son, are also of great service, and in Jean le Clerc's *Study of the First Two Centuries* we come upon good specimens of historical criticism (1716). Van Oosterzee has treated ecclesiastical history only incidentally, his labors being largely occupied with doctrinal theology, particularly on its apologetic side. His *Life of Christ* is a masterpiece of combined historical and apologetic treatment. Chautepie de la Saus-saye has written a work on the Religious Crisis in Holland,² a choice monograph on the later attempts to infuse rationalism into the fiber of the Dutch Church.

6. Modern Roman Catholic historians. After the Reformation had become an accomplished fact, the historical labors of the Roman Catholic Church were largely confined to a defense of the earlier history. Even Baronius had nothing new to present. As to the French writers, they were more independent than either the German or Italian. Here and there an Italian broke loose from the prevailing submissiveness, as with the monk Sarpi. His *History of the Council of Trent*³ was in a measure an attack on the historical delinquencies of Romanism. Among French historians were the following: Godeau, the author of a *History of the Church of Christ to the Ninth Century*;⁴ Natalis Alexander (Noël), who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History to the Council of Trent*;⁵ Bossuet, a *Universal His-*

¹ Lond. trans., 7 vols., 1890. His picture of Jesus is a romance.

² *La Crise Religieuse en Hollande*. Leyde, 1860.

³ Best ed., Naples, 1790. Eng. trans., 1676.

⁴ 3 vols. Paris, 1663.

⁵ 30 vols. Paris, 1676, and later. Best ed., Bingham Rhen., 1785-90. His treatment of the mediæval Church created scandal in Rome, and the great work of Alexander was allowed to go uncondemned only after Roncagli had prepared an edition giving extensive corrections. Lucca, 1734.

tory from the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne;¹ Fleury, an Ecclesiastical History,² extending down to 1414; and the Jansenist Tillemont, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History of the First Six Centuries.³ Both Fleury and Tillemont were distinguished for elegance of style and a critical spirit. Du Pin (d. 1719) published a Biographical and Literary History of the Church down to the Seventeenth Century,⁴ which was followed by a similar work by Ceillier⁵—both works of immense learning and research and written in an independent spirit. The French Benedictines of St. Maur did great service by critical editions of the fathers and by their works in Christian antiquities. Mabillon, Montfaucon, Ruinart, Martène, Durand, are a few of these eminent names. The more important historians of the eighteenth century were Choisy, Ducreux, and Berault-Bercastek. To the present century belong Lacroix, Robiano, Henrion, and, most important of any French ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, Rohrbacher, who wrote a Universal History of the Church.⁶

Among the German Catholic historians are the romanticist and poet, Stölberg, who wrote a History of the Religion of Jesus Christ, extending to A. D. 430;⁷ Katerkamp, a History of Religion to the Founding of the General Church,⁸ and a Church History to A. D. 1153;⁹ Döllinger, a Text-book of Church History;¹⁰ and the Church Histories of Alzog.¹¹ Kraus, and Hergenröther—all scholarly works, written by original investigators, though in the Roman interest. The Wetzzer and Welte Church Lexicon is rich in historical matter, but in the second edition by Kaulen the revisions are reactionary, and prompted by the Vatican spirit.¹² Hefele's History of the Councils is our best authority for the general councils of the Church.¹³ It was continued by Knopfler and

HISTORIANS OF
THE EIGHT-
FIFTH CENT-
URY.

GERMAN RO-
MAN CATHOLIC
HISTORIANS.

¹ Paris, 1681. Complete works, new ed., 59 vols., Paris, 1825.

² 20 vols. Paris, 1691, and later. Best ed., with continuation to 1584 by Claude Fabre, with 4 vols. of Indexes. 40 vols. Paris, 1722-36. An Eng. trans. to 870. Lond., 1727-32. Cardinal Newman trans. with notes, 381-456. Oxf., 1842-44, 3 vols. Fleury is frank and fair, and though dry and wearisome still remains one of the best historians.

³ 16 vols. Paris, 1693-98.

⁴ 19 vols. Paris and Amst., 1688-1715, fol. New ed., with continuations by Goujet and Petit-Didier to the 18th cent. Paris, 1698, and later, 61 vols., including the critique of R. Simon.

⁵ 23 vols., 4to. Paris, 1729-63; new ed., 1858-64; 17 vols.

⁶ 29 vols. Paris, 1842-43; 4th ed. by Chantrel, 1864, and later.

⁷ 15 vols. Hamb., 1806-18. ⁸ Münster, 1819. ⁹ 5 vols. Münster, 1823-24.

¹⁰ Eng. ed., 4 vols. Lond., 1840-42.

¹¹ Amer. ed., 3 vols. Cinc., 1874-78.

¹² Freib., 1880, and later.

¹³ Trans. of first portion down to 787, 5 vols. Edinb., 1871-96.

Hergenröther¹ down to, and including, the Council of Trent. Locherer and Jungmann have written solid histories. Johannes Janssen attempted the reconstruction of German Church History in his *History of the German People*,² which created a sensation in Germany and elicited numerous Protestant replies. The Belgian Benedictine, Bellesheim, has written a *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, which, for the most part, may be highly commended.

In England the Roman Catholic historians have done but little as yet. The best is Lingard, whose *Antiquities of the Anglo-*

ENGLISH RO-
MAN CATHOLIC
HISTORIANS.

Saxon Church is now somewhat antiquated, but whose *History of England to 1688* is of great permanent value.

Lingard was a scholar of judicial spirit, and though he needs correction in the light of later writers, he is indispensable as giving the conclusions of an independent Catholic investigator. Cardinal Newman wrote while still a churchman a *History of the Arians in the Fourth Century*,³ to which he added various interesting essays. Allies carried forward an ambitious work on the *Formation of Christendom* which is still incomplete. Gasquet and Bridgett have written on various aspects of the Reformation and post-Reformation period in English history, and their researches are indispensable to the student of English Church history. Morris, Drane, Gillow, Pollen, H. T. Coleridge, and Formby, in collections of original documents and in other works have rendered great service to historical literature. Two English churchmen should not be forgotten—Frederic G. Lee, because of his *Studies of the English Reformation*; and Samuel R. Maitland, because of his *Dark Ages*.⁴ The latter brings much new light, and in a fresh and charming manner dissipates many venerable prejudices.

7. American Ecclesiastical historians. It has been a just ground of lament that until recently but little taste has been manifested in the United States for Church history. The late Henry B. Smith thus accounted for our dearth of the historical spirit: "As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those fearless and reverent questionings of the sages of other times which, as Jeffrey well says, 'are the permitted necromancy of the wise.'"

AMERICAN EC-
CLESIASTICAL
HISTIOG-
RAPHY.

¹ 1873-91. ² 12th ed., 6 vols., 1888. ³ Eng. trans., Edinb., 1837-90, 4 vols.

⁴ 6th ed., Lond., revised and enlarged, 1854, 13 vols.

⁵ Lond., 1833; new ed., 1838.

⁶ Lond., 1845; new ed., 1893.

"Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the Church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote, and kept up by mnemonic helps."¹ This is confirmed by a statement of J. A. Alexander, who says: "Our national tendency, so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various inferior yet important interests, to science, literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious history is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible sources which can only be supplied by history."²

J. A. ALEXAN-
DER'S LAMENT
OVER AMERI-
CAN HISTOR-
ICAL BARREN-
NESS.

But it is now forty-five years since these regrets at the neglect of historical studies in American theology were expressed, and during this interval great progress has been made. Church history was, earlier, a neglected department in our theological schools, but no theological seminary of fair character in the United States is now without its professorship of historical theology. The labors of Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Kirk, and Parkman, and the genial works of Irving, have had an important effect in awakening a popular historical taste, while the contributions in the theological department are fully equal in ability and interest.

AWAKING OF
POPULAR HIS-
TORICAL
TASTE.

Our chief support has come from abroad. The best historical works of Great Britain and Germany have been promptly introduced among us. Professor Henry B. Smith published an excellent original *Tabular History of the Church*; Lamson, a *History of the Early Church*; Shedd, a treatise on the *Philosophy of History*, and a *History of Christian Doctrine*; Henry Charles Lea, a layman, important monographs on the Church in special relation to Roman Catholicism, showing immense research and opening up new fields, and a monumental *His-*

SMITH, LAM-
SON, SHEDD,
LEA, AND
FISHER.

¹ Bib. Sacra, 1851, pp. 414, 415.

² Bib. Repertory and Princeton Review, 1847.

tory of the Inquisition; Fisher, a History of the Reformation, Beginnings of Christianity, an admirable History of the Church in one volume, and some masterly historical essays.

The labors of Philip Schaff belong rather to the United States than to Germany. Although a native of Switzerland and a student in the German universities, his remarkable literary productiveness is a part of the theological wealth of this country. No ecclesiastical historian has equaled him in the general arrangement, grouping, and proportionate use of historical material, nor in the literary and religious genius which pervades the whole. His History of the

Christian Church bears all the traces of his German culture and profound sympathy with the spirit and instructions of Neander. At the same time all his theological labors reveal his thorough identification with American institutions, and a clear conception of the needs and opportunities of the ecclesiastical life of the Church in the United States. What Carlyle did for the introduction of German literature into England, Schaff did for the introduction and safe utilization of the evangelical theology of Germany into the United States, the third and largest home of the Teutonic race.

Schaff went over more ground than any other historian, treating the whole history of the Church to the Reformation in an elaborate manner, including two volumes on the German and Swiss Reformation. The second part of the Mediæval Period was left incomplete at his death, but it will appear. Of equal importance is his Creeds of Christendom, the most extensive work of the kind in any language. Schaff founded the American Society of Church History in 1888, which has been the means of eliciting invaluable monographs from him and other American scholars, and has published annually a full report of its proceedings, etc., 1889-96, 8 vols., N. Y.

Henry C. Sheldon has written an excellent History of Doctrine, and a History of the Church. Henry M. Baird has made extensive studies in French Huguenot history, and R. W. Thompson has investigated the Relation of the Papacy to Civil Affairs.

SHELDON,
BAIRD, AND
OTHERS.

Mombert has given the best History of Charles the Great in any language, and in briefer form has done work equally well on the History of the Crusades, and the History of the English Bible. Gillett traced the Course of English Religious Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and wrote a History of John Huss in two large volumes, both works monuments of American scholarship. The following special works are conscientious studies by careful writers: Bernard of Clairvaux, by Storrs; Knox, by Taylor; Savonarola, by Professor Clark, of

Toronto; Mediæval History, by Professors McLaughlin and Emerson; Molinos, by Bigelow; Alcuin, by West; The Early Religious History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Cathcart, Moffat, and DeVinne respectively; the Reformation in Sweden, by Butler; the Canons of the First Councils, by Fulton; contributions to Dante literature, by Davidson, Longfellow, Norton; History of Humane Progress, by Brace; Mediæval Civilization, by Adams; the Lutherans and the English Reformation, by Jacobs; Baptism in History, by Burrage; a History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland, by the same author; and various works by that enthusiastic investigator, Henry M. Dexter.

The American Church has produced more denominational histories than works of a general historical character. This is largely due to our active confessional life and the absence of the State Church system. Bacon, Dexter, Punchard, and Wil-

DENOMINA-
TIONAL
CHURCH HIS-
TORY.

liston Walker have written on the Congregational Church; White, Burgess, Perry, McConnell, and Tiffany, on the Protestant Episcopal Church; Hodge, Gillett, Webster, Briggs, and R. E. Thompson, on the Presbyterian Church; Bangs, Stevens, and Atkinson, on the Methodist Episcopal Church; McTyeire, on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Mayer, Harbaugh, and Dubbs, on the German Reformed Church; Demarest and Corwin, on the Reformed Dutch Church; Wolf, Jacobs, Gräbner, Schæffer, and Schmucker, on the Lutheran Church; Ellis, Ware, and Allen, on the Unitarian Church; and Noethen, Shea, and Clarke, on the Roman Catholic Church. The American Society of Church History has inaugurated a series of denominational histories written with reference to the best authorities and in a liberal and catholic spirit. The books in this series already published are the earnest of a grand future for American historiography.

There need be no ground for alarm as to the future progress and independence of historical theology in the United States. The conditions which have limited our development in this respect in the past are rapidly disappearing. The American Church has been compelled to address itself to grave social and evangelistic questions, and has confronted them with courage and vigor. At its distance from the great fields of persecution and protracted controversy it will in time acquire that needful equipoise of mind for inquiring carefully and pronouncing judiciously concerning the great matters of the general life of the Church. Concerning that past we can well expect that the American Church will be a wise inquirer and an apt disciple at its feet.

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8. Bright, W. History of the Church from 313 to 451. Lond., 1860; 5th ed., 1888.
9. Dollinger, J. J. I. von. Gentile and Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ. Lond., 1862, 2 vols. First Age of Christianity and the Church. Lond., 1866, 2 vols.; new ed., 1877. Best of all works on the borderland between paganism and Christianity.
10. Hausrath, A. History of New Testament Times. Lond., 1878-80, 2 vols.
11. Schürer, E. History of Jewish People in the Time of Christ. Edinb., 1885-91, 5 vols.
12. Baur, F. C. Church History of the First Three Centuries. Lond., 1878-79, 2 vols. The works of Dollinger, Hausrath, Schürer, and Baur, all translated from the German, exhibit true German thoroughness, and sometimes the German love of speculation. Dollinger wrote chiefly while a Roman Catholic; but he was always of a liberal and historic temper. Hausrath has somewhat of a rationalistic bent, and Baur spins out his peculiar views in his profound and penetrating way.
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16. Farrar, F. W. *Early Days of Christianity*. Lond. and N. Y., 1892.
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18. Fitzgerald, W. *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*. Lond., 1895, 2 vols. Able discussions by the Episcopal Bishop of Cork.
19. Armitage, W. *Sketch of Church and State during the First Eight Centuries*. Lond., 1887.
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25. Cheetham, S. *History of the Church in the First Six Centuries*. Lond. and N. Y., 1894.
26. Weizsäcker, C. von. *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*. Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Written with rationalistic presuppositions. Treatment of resurrection of Christ weak and halting. As a whole, however, a work of great ability. We might add here the brilliant essays of Renan in his remarkable series on the *Origins of Christianity*, beginning with the *Apostles*, Paris, 1866, and continuing to *St. Paul*, 1869; the *Anti-Christ*, 1872; the *Gospels and the Second Christian Generation*, 1877; the *Christian Church*, comprising the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, 1879, and concluding with the masterly and eloquent volume on *Marcus Aurelius*, 1881. These works have all been translated into English, Lond., n. d. In them Renan appears at his best, in his free treatment and characterizations, and fine historical knowledge, but with no sympathy with the supernatural element in history, or with the piety, reverence, and heroism which made the Church conquer the world.

On the early Church, see also the appropriate departments in the *General Church Histories*, and the special works mentioned in the course of this History.

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3. Mommsen, T. *Römisches Staatsrecht*. Berl., 1875. The Roman Provinces. Lond. and N. Y., 1888.
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10. Kingsley, C. *The Roman and the Teuton*; new ed., with preface by Max Müller. Lond. and N. Y., 1889.
11. Addis, W. E. *Christianity and the Roman Empire*. Lond., 1893.
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THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

A. D. 1-101.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY.

I. THE GREEKS, THEIR FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE intellectual preparation of the world for Christianity was wrought out by the Greek culture and Roman organization. With a land singularly beautiful, and so situated as to appropriate and crystallize the best thought from Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, and to reproduce and distribute it to the Roman power in the West, the Greeks performed a work not less important in its relations to Christianity than to the best period of the classic age. They were of various origin. In the diversity of their ancestry, the versatility of their genius, their steady mastery of difficulty, their power to absorb the strong and the good from every quarter, and their singular capacity to originate and propagate new ideas, the Greeks were the Anglo-Saxons of the ancient world. As the present English race is the offspring of Briton, Saxon, Angle, Dane, Gael, and Norman, so in the veins of the Greek there flowed the blood of many tribes, from the north, the east, and the south. The Hellene combined in his person the strong elements of all great national and tribal forces of the world, excepting only the Hebrew. He was born of the throes of the ancient Pelasgi, themselves composite, like the Frank and the Saxon; the Minyæ; the Pierian and Bœotian Thracians, whose bards had been long dead before Homer was born; the Leleges and Carians; the Dardanians and Teucrians; the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, from the northern Ægean Islands, and Attica and Argos; the Phœnician Cadmeans, the Bœotian Arneans, and the Achæans, the Ionians, and

THE GREEK
RACE.

the Dorians.¹ Coming of such intense blood, he was ready to make his broad place in history.

While the faith of the Greeks reveals traces of Eastern origin, it underwent such transformation that it became a complete organism, and, in the splendor of its strength and the luxuriance of its fancy, passed over, as a vast and far-reaching mythology, to the Romans. This latter people, the perpetual borrowers from the East, went through all the stages of their history with a utilitarian faith overlaid by that of the Greeks. For purely intellectual achievements the Greeks were potent in every field. In the higher walks of literature they pursued such a course, and attained such excellence, that their productions in dramatic and lyric poetry, in wise legislation, forensic eloquence, and speculative philosophy, and the arts of painting and sculpture, have been regarded as masterpieces, and, at this distance, still serve as models. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; Solon and Lycurgus; Demosthenes, Æschines, and Isocrates; Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato; Herodotus, Xenophon, and Thucydides; and Apelles and Phidias, are teachers for the race. Their mission has not been superseded by the later introduction and propagation of Christianity. The extent to which the religion of Christ has subsidized for its own vast purposes the language and thought of the Greeks cannot be measured. The intellect of Greece, therefore, besides having all the fervor of youth and the vigor of maturity, was endowed with the rare and subtle power of working for every later historic period, and of becoming an unconscious agent for the advancement of Christianity in all its fields.

The religious belief of the Greek was a reflection of his quick and serious intellect and rich æsthetic nature. Like his varied origin in race, his religion was the product of multiform forces. He derived his faith from the floating traditions of his forefathers, which so crystallized in the poems of Homer and Hesiod that these two poets were the theological teachers of the Greeks down to the rise of their philosophy. The Greek mythology, as with all forms of polytheism, was primarily a deification of natural forces, of the elements patent to the senses. To the Hellene, Nature was nowhere deaf, or dumb, or blind, and, in the popular mind, became the protectress of man. From this

¹ Döllinger, Jew and Gentile, i, 75. Duncker, Hist. of Greece, i, 9, sqq. does not accept the composite origin of the Greek race. He takes no stock in Herodotus's distinction between the Pelasgic and Hellenic nations. v. Herod., i, 56. Herodotus says also that "many barbarian races have allied themselves" with the Hellenic nation.

general foundation it is easy to see that the pagan pantheon could enlarge illimitably. The mythology had an undisputed reign of about five centuries, until Thales, about B. C. 600, arose and spoke the first word in protest against its worth and place in the thought and worship of man.

A survey of these systems is necessary for a candid view of the historical soil which received the new Christianity. The history of Greek philosophy is divided by a political event, the downfall of Alexander's empire, into two parts: First, from B. C. 600 to B. C. 324. Here belong the better schools—the Ionic, the early Pythagorean, the Eleatic, the Atomistic, and the Sophist schools, and the three systems of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The second period extends from B. C. 324 down to A. D. 530. Here arose the schools of the decadence—the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Skeptics. To them succeeded, after a long interval, Neoplatonism, introduced by Plotinus, A. D. 204-269. This system exhausted itself in the labors of the Athenian commentators, about A. D. 530.¹ As the Neoplatonists originated nothing, and their system was only the last effort of pagan philosophy to rehabilitate itself by borrowing some Christian drapery, a discussion of it will be reserved for treatment in connection with the contemporaneous history of the Church.

SYSTEMS OF
GREEK PHI-
LOSOPHY.

The Ionic and Eleatic schools founded by Thales, of Miletus, and Xenophanes, an exile in Elea, confined their attention to dealing with physical facts, and accounting for the original essence from which all matter has been evolved. Their opinions were divided between air and water as the original essence. The Eleatics were thoroughly pantheistic. At no period of Greek philosophy were the protests stronger against the prevailing mythology. Heraclitus, a leader of the school, said of his own people: "They address prayers to images; they might as well enter into conversation with their houses." At another time he said: "We ought to expel Homer—the minstrel who sang the Iliad at the games—by the public constable from the festal solemnities, because his works stuff the people with unseemly notions."

IONIC AND ELE-
ATIC SCHOOLS.

The Pythagorean school, founded by Pythagoras, B. C. 586, was employed in the investigation of moral and religious themes. Pythagoras said: "I have no art: I am a philosopher;" and to speculative philosophy in its higher forms he remained true. With him and his followers number is the eternal, self-originated bond of the eternal continuance of the universe. Harmony underlies all the relations of the world. Virtue

THE PYTHAG-
OREANS.

¹ Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, i, 255.

itself is only another name for cosmos, or harmony. Creation was a progress from the crude to the perfect. There is a universal soul embracing all things. The soul is immortal, but migrates through all ages. Reflection is one of man's chief necessities. His whole life must be symmetrical. He said: "We must wait for the last day of a man." Because of the large place which Pythagoras gave to numbers Aristotle said keenly of him: "Mathematics is his philosophy." The distinguishing doctrine of the Atomists, at whose head stood Democritus (B. C. 460), was the eternity of matter. The soul is only a finer form of body, and both it and the grosser material organism are made up of atoms. These atoms have combined and assumed form because of an internal necessity. The Sophists never attained the dignity of a school. They consisted of such men as Gorgias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who derided all that was lofty and serious in the existing systems. They were the skeptics of their age, restless inquirers, and occupied a position somewhat analogous to that of the French encyclopedists of the eighteenth century.

The Socratic school was founded by Socrates, B. C. 469-399. It was an honest attempt to restore philosophy to its proper domain. to heal it of the infirmities that had gathered about it, and to make it the instrument for the solution of the great problems of being. The leader attached absolute value to ethics, and only relative importance to physics. The human mind has the power of deciding truth, when once it knows how to use its endowments. The soul is allied, by similarity of nature, to deity. Deity is one, however varied his manifestations, and matter is his work, and proves a designing mind. Man has a future life, and the worship of God is the highest duty and the best preparation for the future. He at length aroused the Athenian democracy, and on a series of trumped-up charges which really veiled political animosity, he was convicted and put to death.

Plato (B. C. 430-350) was the philosopher of the spirit. A disciple of Socrates, and present when his teacher drank the hemlock.

Plato followed only partially in his footsteps. He proceeded far beyond the Socratic world of outward and visible phenomena, and recognized the spirituality of man's nature. The subjective spiritual nature is akin to the divine, not in any sense identical with it, but always dependent upon it. The spirit has certain needs which can only be satisfied in the Supreme Being. Here lies the intimate connection of the Platonic philosophy and Christianity, and it is not surprising that great teachers in the early Church should not only have regarded it as

ATOMISTS AND
SOPHISTS.

SOCRATIC
SCHOOL

PLATONISM
AND CHRIS-
TIANITY.

prophetic of Christianity, but that it should have been to them the medium of transition to Christianity.¹ Eusebius expressed the true relation of Plato when he said: "He alone of all the Greeks reached the vestibule of truth and stood upon its threshold." Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen and his school, Augustine, Schleiermacher, and Neander are only a few to whom Plato has proved a schoolmaster, leading them to Christ. Aristotle (B. C. 384-322) likewise attached great importance to the human spirit, but his mind was critical, while Plato was more poetic, spiritual, and ideal. The former asserted an eternal, immovable substance, the source of all movement. The primary notion of this substance is that it is energy. Matter is not self-caused, nor does it cause anything else. There is a first cause beyond and above it. It is immaterial, the Supreme Reason, God.²

With the Aristotelian system the best philosophical thought of the Greek mind was exhausted. The decline in speculative science was simultaneous with that of the Greek nationality itself, as a result of the disruption of Alexander's empire. Philosophy became less serious, reverent, and spiritual. Zeno (B. C. 340-260), the founder of the Stoic system, ignored the spiritual element and advocated unmixed materialism. There are THE STOIC
SYSTEM. only two principles—matter, and an innate and eternal force dwelling in matter. There is nothing real but the material; even space and time are only chimeras of the mind. Everything that has a real existence can be recognized only through the senses. Zeno, therefore, repudiated both the ideas of Plato and the incorporeal and immaterial substance of Aristotle, and regarded both as mere abstractions of human thought.³ The Stoic school passed through many changes, and was finally represented at Rome by L. A. Seneca.⁴ A pantheistic element pervaded its whole history. The

¹ F. C. Baur, in his *Das Christliche des Platonismus* (Tübingen, 1837), treats the Christian element in Plato in full; and Ackermann, in his *Das Christliche im Plato und in der plat. Philosophie* (Hamb., 1835), gives parallel passages between this philosopher and the New Testament writers. This work has been translated, *The Christian Element in Plato* (Edinb., 1861). On the whole subject of the Greek influence on Christianity see Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures* for 1888.

² The best treatment of Greek thought in its unconscious prophecies of Christ in both the richness and poverty of its best literature is given by Bishop Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West*. Lond. and N. Y., 1891, especially pp. 1-252.

³ Dollinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, pp. 319, 320.

⁴ For the best that can be said of Seneca and the best Stoics as anticipating Christianity, see Addis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*. Lond., 1893, pp. 22-25; Farrar, *Seekers After God*. Lond., new ed., 1892.

Epicurean system established by Epicurus (B. C. 342-270) was strongly antagonistic to the Stoic. It regarded the world as the product of chance, and essentially denied the existence of the gods, but advised some care in expressing the denial.

The Skeptics—the New Academy—with Acesilaus (B. C. 318-244) and Carneades (B. C. 213-130) as leaders, assumed a hostile attitude toward the previous systems because of their
THE SKEPTICS. alleged incongruities, and sank into gross skepticism and indifference. The latest philosophical tendency of the Greeks was the least satisfactory.

The general attitude of philosophy toward the popular religious faith was that of hostility and contempt. Here lies one of the causes why the morals of the Greeks never became as corrupt as those of the Romans. With the latter there were so few independent writers on great moral and philosophical themes that the popular mythology was permitted to exert its natural influence. Only in the later period, as in the first century of the Christian
PROTEST AGAINST THE CURRENT MYTHOLOGY. era, could there be found men who were willing and brave to enter a protest against the gross mythology. Even the men whose voices were loudest against the polytheism of their times never wholly escaped from it. In their last moments they paid tribute to the error against which their whole lives were an eloquent protest. The last words of Socrates were, when his extremities were already cold in death: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Pay the debt, and do not neglect it." Seneca, the most notable representative of the divine unity among the Romans, in the hour of his suicide poured out a libation to "Jove the Liberator."

With the decline of the Greek nationality the power of Greece as a vital and productive force, whether in philosophy, literature, or politics, passed away. Long before the dissolution of the Achaean
FAILURE OF PHILOSOPHY. League in B. C. 146, the splendid promise of paganism in this its fairest field had met with a complete collapse. Its mission now lay in the future through the life-giving touch of Christ. Hegel touches the keynote of its significance when he calls her history the "play of youth." Her philosophers had failed either to bring the people to unity of belief or morality in life. Cicero spoke of this failure when he said: "In such difference of opinion amongst the wise we are in no position to know our lords and masters, as in fact we are uncertain whether we are the subjects of the sun or ether."¹

But the failure of Greece was the lever of Christianity. Her

¹ *Academ.*, ii, p. 41.

philosophy which had failed as a guide was to become a servant. Greece had given the world a training in the contemplation of serious subjects, and had directed thought toward the problems of the soul and of destiny. The early Christian writers recognized this service. Clement of Alexandria said nobly that philosophy was a gift which divine Providence had itself entrusted to the best of the Greeks as an educator for Christianity.¹ Tertullian said of the Greek philosophers that they had knocked at the doors of the truth,² a beautiful figure which Bossuet borrows and thus enlarges upon: "Though the philosophers be the protectors of error, they have nevertheless often knocked at the door of truth; if they have not entered its sanctuary, if they have not had the joy of seeing it and worshipping it in its temple, they have often presented themselves at its portico, and rendered it worship from afar."³ The early Christian writers, too, were not slow in turning upon their opponents the denunciations of the popular mythology by their own philosophers and poets.

SERVICE OF
GREECE TO
CHRISTIANITY.

But the great service which Greece rendered to Christianity was in furnishing it a world-wide language, the most beautiful, the most flexible, the most expressive the world has ever known. The Greeks built more wisely than they knew. They contributed less to the glory of Greece than to the diffusion of Christianity, the development of its doctrine, and the beauty of its culture in every age.⁴

THE GREEK
LANGUAGE.

II. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The Romans were not less potent, but in a different field, than the Greeks in preparing the way for the diffusion of Christianity. While their literature and religion were shaped after Greek models, their national character was of a different type. While the Greeks were imaginative and passionately fond of the beautiful in both form and thought, the Romans were practical, fond of law, and capable of rule. As organizers and lawmakers they have never been surpassed. No sooner was a province conquered than, by wise administration, they knew how to assimilate

THE ROMANS AS
ORGANIZERS.

¹ Strom., vi, 693, 694.

² Veritatis fores pulsant.

³ Panegyrique de Sainte Catherine.

⁴ Frederick W. Robertson has treated the Greek preparation for Christianity with characteristic discrimination and lucidity. He does equal justice to both the negative and positive aspects of the subject. Sermons, 1st series, sermon xi.

its people to their own body politic, and where they were unable to overcome by arms, as in the case of the Batavi, they had the adroitness to annex in such a way as to satisfy barbarian pride and yet utilize their new citizens for the hazards of war and the enrichment of the national treasury.

When Christ appeared the political power of the world was in Roman hands. Palestine was under the administration of Roman deputies, and the countries first visited by the apostles were a part of the marvelous network of Roman territory. Paul, the Greek preacher, enjoyed and asserted the rights of Roman citizenship. The Roman armies passed freely along both shores of the Mediterranean, and followed their eagles from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Euphrates. The great highways over which they passed were constructed so strongly that many of them are still in existence, and the ruins of their stone viaducts vie with those of their temples as among their best remains, in the Campagna, of ancient Roman masonry. As builders of roads and aqueducts the Romans wrought for the great future. Their Appian Way is still a complete highroad toward Naples and over the Pontine Marshes, while their Cloaca Maxima drains the Rome of new Italy, and is in far better preservation than the Coliseum, whose walls are covered with not less than two hundred and fifty varieties of weeds and wild flowers—the parasites of ruins. The Romans always looked far out into the future. They made their laws and reared their edifices for all time. The idea of perpetuity was native to them. They called their capital *urbs æterna*—the eternal city.

The facilities for the passage of the Roman armies and material of war from Parthia in the east to Britain in the west, were a powerful unifying agency. The interchange of thought and the ease of commercial transactions were the rule, and not the exception. When the first preachers of the Gospel would evangelize Asia Minor and the Greek States and go even to Rome, they passed, on land, over uninterrupted highways, and, on sea, made use of the vessels engaged in regular carrying trade.¹

The majesty of Rome made travel safer than it is now. "Cæsar has procured us a profound peace," says Epictetus; "there

¹ On the water communications of the Roman empire, see Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 2 vols. Lond., 1878. On the roads, compare Bergier, *Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain*, 2d ed. Brussels, 1729. For this whole section the best book is Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 3 vols., 5th ed. Leipz., 1831. Compare the excellent chapter in Fisher, *Beginnings of Christianity*, pp. 40-73.

are neither wars, nor battles, nor great robberies, nor piracies : but we may travel at all hours and sail from east to west."¹ And it was an age of travel. Intercommunication became so safe and easy that even somewhat remote colonies presented a cosmopolitan aspect. "Greek scholars," says Friedländer, "kept school in Spain : the women of a Roman colony in Switzerland employed a goldsmith from Asia Minor : in the cities of Gaul were Greek painters and sculptors ; Gauls and Germans served as bodyguards of a Jewish king at Jerusalem ; Jews were settled in all the provinces." Five main roads went out from Rome to all parts of the empire, built with great solidity, and going as a rule in a straight line over mountains and rivers. It was the great Via Egnatia by which Paul penetrated Macedonia, a corn ship in which as prisoner he took passage for Rome, and the Appian Way by which he ascended from Puteoli to the gates of Rome ; while the messengers by whom he sent his immortal letters, the individuals who formed the beginnings of his societies, and the persons with whom he formed his lasting friendships were those who were intimately or remotely engaged in the commerce around the shores of the Mediterranean, with Rome as the great center. The most distant provinces were united with the central government by the wise administration of unifying laws. All extremes were made to meet and harmonize in letters, law, arms, and commerce. Though the Roman people had lost their early simplicity and purity before the coming of Christ, their country and its provinces had never been so thoroughly united and so accessible as at the beginning of the apostolic period. The material condition of the Romans, therefore, like the cosmopolitan literature of the Greeks, was eminently favorable for the dissemination of the Christian faith.²

SAFETY OF
TRAVEL IN THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

UNION OF THE
PROVINCES.

III. THE MORAL DESTITUTION OF PAGANISM.

The most deplorable picture of depraved morals in the entire range of history is presented by the pagan world at the time of the introduction of Christianity. The description of it by Paul is singularly confirmed by the classic writers, and by later archæological revelations.³ The austere periods of the Greek independence and the

¹ Epic., Dis. III, xiii.

² The best summary of the Roman preparation for Christianity is Addis. Christianity and the Roman Empire. Lond., 1893, chap. i. Indispensable also is Uhlhorn, Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. N. Y., 1880, chap. i and ii.

³ Rom. i, 18-32.

Roman republic had passed away, and immorality was practiced to such a degree and with such publicity that even the immoral satirists themselves made the popular vices the object of their invective. At no time did the Greeks descend to such depravity as their closest imitators, the Romans. As the republic of the latter passed into the empire the territory widened, the communication with other nations became easier, wealth poured into the capital through every commercial and military vein, and the proverbial simplicity and purity of the people disappeared. The old faith gradually became admixed with Asiatic elements. The walls of Pompeii reveal the fact that in the first century of the Christian era there was such dissatisfaction of the Romans with their religion that they had imported from the East and South the worship of the beasts of the field, the fishes of the Nile, and the productions of the soil. Cicero testifies to the hollowness and duplicity of the native worship by saying that one *haruspex* could not look another in the face without laughing.

The degradation of woman was hopeless and complete. In Athens the wife was never regarded as possessed of legal privileges, and her son became her protector after reaching his majority. A measure of barley was the limit of property which she could leave by will to her own offspring. She was in all essentials a slave. Her present subjection in oriental lands, and the estimate placed upon her by Turkey, the typical polygamist of the ages, is only the modern propagation of the elder Greek and Roman view of her real relation to man. She was regarded as his inferior, the minister to his lust, and his slave for menial service. She was never trusted, and her place in the residence—for paganism had no homes—was an upper room in the rear of the house, and often guarded by lock and key.¹ Her mental endowments were estimated as of a lower grade than those of men. She was supposed to excel in duplicity, artifice, and treachery. Marriage was only a political institution. There was no sacred bond. Early Rome had been distinguished for its household purity, and Valerius Maximus gives a list of noble illustrations of it. Centuries passed by without a single divorce for adultery—according to Plutarch, two hundred and thirty years; according to Valerius Maximus, five hundred and twenty years; and according to Aulus Gellius, five hundred and twenty-one years. It was only old Ennius who could sing: “*Flagitii principium est, nudare inter cives corpora.*”

¹ Tholuck, *Der sittliche Character des Heidenthums*, pp. 75, 76.

But in the later days of the republic, and all through the empire, divorce was common, and could be purchased by a pittance. Seneca, who was singularly favored, as Nero's tutor and a member of his court, with facilities for observation, thus testifies: "Crimes and iniquity abound in all things. More wickedness is committed than law can reach. . . . The passion for sin increases daily; daily there is more shamelessness. Respect for the pure and holy diminishes constantly. Sin stalks openly. It stares into all eyes. Innocence is not merely infrequent—it is no more."¹ Tacitus deplores the corruption of the people whose life he traced in his *Annals*, and the satires of Juvenal and Persius reveal the grossest moral depravity in every stratum of society. Plato, in his *Ideal Republic*, proposed the communism of women—a proposition whose absurdity, it must be confessed, was exposed by Aristotle.² In Sparta, where we would expect a more rigid view of conjugal fidelity, the wife was not considered even the sole property of one man. Plutarch gave the advice that a citizen should share his wife with a friend, and Polybius states it as a current view of propriety that a husband might lend his wife out to his friends.³ In Athens the husband was not regarded the natural protector of the wife, but the son, after reaching his majority.

IMPURITY OF
THE DOMESTIC
RELATION.

Prostitution was universal. Not content to practice in the homes and houses for the special purpose, it was introduced even into the temples. It was a fearful charge which Tertullian laid at the door of paganism when he said: "It is a matter of general notoriety that the temples are the very places where adulteries are arranged, and procuresses pursue their victims between the altars."⁴ One of the grossest forms of immorality was the abuse of boys and youth, or *paiderastia*. This was in common use by even the most learned and cultivated among both the Greeks and Romans. Plutarch hesitates to pronounce on its propriety, but when he speaks of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines, and Cebes as having practiced it, he agrees with Plato⁵ that men of great eminence must be allowed to show affection to what beautiful objects they please, and concludes that the wild amours of Thebes and Elis are not to be countenanced, but the *paiderastia* of Athens and Sparta is to be imitated.⁶ At no time was Greece free from this crime. Beautiful boys were converted into eunuchs,

PROSTITUTION
AND OTHER
FORMS OF IM-
MORALITY.

¹ *De Ira*, i, ii, c. 8.

² *Politica*, i, ii, c. 2-18, edition Schneider. Compare Tholuck, *Sittl. Character des Heidenthums*, pp. 82-84.

³ *Hist.*, xii, 6. ⁴ *Apol.*, c. 15. ⁵ *Repub.*, v, p. 468 c. ⁶ *Morals*, i, pp. 26, 27.

and their youth preserved as long as possible to make them serve the bestial lust of men. There were, among the Romans, harems of young men as well as of women, which were called *paidagogia*. Trajan practiced this crime, while Tiberius, in his palace on *Capræa*, the *Capri* of our day, carried it to such an extent as to shock even his own subjects. The abhorrence of issue was universal in both Greek and Roman society. Embryonic murder was the rule rather than the exception.¹ A large family was regarded as a social disgrace. The six children of Germanicus were the most notable exception in the highest order of society. Not one Roman emperor left a large family, while many died without legitimate issue. The authors show a singular dread of offspring, and Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Seneca, the two Plinys, Suetonius, and Tacitus died childless.²

This repulsive picture is sufficient to reveal the low estimate placed on childhood by paganism. Not one great classic writer in even the age of Pericles in Greece, or of the Roman republic, understood the moral value of childhood or its real bearing on the world's future. It was only of man after he became mature, had fought the battles of childhood and youth, and stood forth before the world as a victor on many a field, that the pagan mind formed a high opinion and regarded him as worthy a place of honor in citizenship and in the pantheon of literature. The subject and passive man received little notice from the most charitable philosopher; the child was never once thought of as worthy of an equal place with the adult in the sympathy and respect of the world. The highest value attached to children was their possible service to the State. The Spartan regarded boys only of value; and this he did for the reason that they might be of strong body, and therefore able to perform military duty. Maimed and invalid boys, and the most of the girls, were not supposed to be of any special worth, and better in *hades*, in charge of grim and relentless *Pluto*, than on earth.³

Plato, in his *Laws* and *Republic*, takes special pains to lay down a theory of education, but he always reaches the same result: children must be taught to respect the laws, and their training must be according to them. "For the third and fourth time," he

¹ Hippolytus and Callistus, pp. 148, 172, 73; Hip., Ref. Haer., ix, 7; Juv., vi, 597; Plin., H. N., xx, 21; xivii, 5, 9.

² Compare Döllinger, *Jew and Gentile*, ii, pp. 233-247.

³ See Prof. R. J. Cooke, *Christianity and Childhood*, N. Y., 1891; Scudder, *Childhood in Literature and Art*, Bost., 1894. In fact, it was left to nineteenth century Christianity to discover childhood.

says, "our reflections have come to the result that education should be the allurements and guidance of youths to that which the laws approve, and which the most judicious and aged have found by experience to be the best." LOW STANDARD OF EDUCATION. Aristotle, not less than Plato, stops far short of the scriptural ideal, for religion forms no part of his educational theory. He says: "No one can doubt that the legislator must bestow very peculiar attention on the education of youth. If this is not done in a State its constitution is destroyed." Socrates was an advance on both these great teachers in that he urged the young men who gathered about him for counsel to improve their hearts and deny themselves in their daily life. But so foreign to the Athenian mind was this emphasis on the value of the inner life that the townsmen of Socrates held him up to contempt for this very instruction.

One of the peculiarities of the pagan conception of education was its admiration of successful juvenile crime. The Spartan boy was admired if he could steal without being caught, and his skill in thieving was regarded as a hopeful sign of later victorious soldiering. Besides, these same Spartans had an annual custom of scourging their children at the altars of Diana Orthia so cruelly that many died from the blows, and this without any cause but disobedience on the part of the children. One of the fundamental elements of the whole pagan mythology was cruelty to aged and decrepit parents. The Greeks taught that Jupiter hurled his own father, Saturn, from the throne, and shut him up in Tartarus, and then parceled out the universe with his brothers Neptune and Pluto. Saturn, however, deserved his punishment, for he was accustomed to devour his own children, and Jupiter and two of his brothers only escaped by an unexpectedly rapid development. DISSOLUTION OF THE DOMESTIC BONDS. All the domestic bonds are dissolved in the Greek and Roman faith. There is no such thing as a strong and pure love of children. From beginning to end parents are murdering them, and the latter are plotting against the former. It is a pandemonium of unmitigated inhumanity. Vulcan chained his own mother Juno—a type of what children thought of their mothers through all that long period of revolting crime. It must, however, be remembered that there were many noble exceptions. The Greeks taught reverence to parents, as did the Romans, and there are several instances on record of beautiful and faithful devotion in the family circle.

While there was such a thing now and then as parental tenderness, it was only a moderate and cautious approach to that intense

Christian love which makes sacrifices for childhood. It was a love which was limited merely to admiration for some heroic deed. For example, when Xenophon was informed that his son had perished in battle after making great slaughter of his enemies, he replied: "I did not make it my request to the gods that my son might be immortal or long-lived, for it is not manifest whether this was convenient for him or not, but that he might have integrity in his principles and be a lover of his country, and now I have my desire."¹

We see this calculating love exemplified in the kind of teachers employed. That old telltale word "pedagogue" simply means the attending slave who took the children to school, and then taught them when they reached there. His function was little higher than the shepherd who led out the flock to browse on the mountain side. The difference between pedagogue and teacher is the measure of the wide gulf between paganism and Christianity in their relative grasp of the majesty and worth of childhood. Only the parents of purer and higher quality thought it worth while to attend in the least to the education of their children in person, until the time should come when the latter should leave home for the university. The rule was that a slave should teach and train. When a family had the rare fortune to be blessed with such a wise slave as the lame Epictetus the children fared well enough. But the rule was to put them under the eyeservant's care. Plutarch, in his *Life of Cato*, commends Socrates as exceptionally farsighted "in teaching his children the rudiments of a school education, although he had a slave who well understood the business, and taught many other children." This same writer, to whom we owe by far our best glimpses into the moral life of both the Greeks and the Romans, bestows on Cato very much the same praise, as being far in advance of his times: "Cato was accustomed to say he was not willing that his son should be rebuked or beaten by a slave, nor that he should have to thank a slave for this kind of knowledge."

There is one department of the pagan obliviousness to the moral value of childhood which I dare not enter, namely, the early introduction of children into the corrupt mysteries of various heathen cults. These were licentious orgies of nameless depth, and children were early made acquainted with them. There are instances where parents preferred their children should die than pass into such shadows, but they are

THE SLAVE THE
TEACHER.

¹ See Plutarch, *Morals* (Goodwin's ed.), iii, p. 333. See Quintilian's passionate love for his son whom he had lost too soon. *De Inst. Orat.*, lib. vi, *Introd.*

very rare. For the most part the parents were not disinclined that their children should early enter upon the life of which the mysteries were the miserable beginning.

Children were not regarded as jewels, to be treasured and cultivated for a pure life, but machines for fighting future battles. Christ, of all the revolutions which he brought to pass, achieved none greater than this—the elevation of childhood into equality with manhood. When he said, “For of such ^{INDIFFERENCE TO CHILDHOOD.} is the kingdom of heaven,” he struck a fatal blow at the long blindness of the world to the great possibilities of the young. The fact is, there was no place for children in either the social or the political framework of any pagan nation, while Christianity took note of them at the beginning and never once forsook them. That Jesus was once a child has sanctified childhood forever. Coriolanus might pray for his son :

“The god of soldiers,
With the consent of supreme Jove, inform
Thy thoughts with nobleness; that thou mayst prove
To shame invulnerable, and stick i’ the wars
Like a great seamark, standing every flaw,
And saving those that eye thee!”¹

But of far greater value, and in a new sphere, was Paul’s advice to the Ephesians to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Slavery was another great pagan vice. It underlay the entire political and social structure. In the chief Greek States the number of slaves was much greater than that of citizens. In Attica, according to the census of Demetrius Phalereus (B. C. 309), there were four hundred thousand slaves and but twenty thousand citizens. In Corinth there were four hundred ^{SLAVERY.} and sixty thousand slaves; in Ægina, four hundred and seventy thousand, and in Sparta, from six hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand.² Among the Romans the slaves were regarded, not as persons (*personæ*), but as things (*res*). This was the universal view of property in man.³ At the doors of the wealthy there were ostiarii, men who lay, like dogs, in chains. Even during the republic it was a law that when a gentleman was murdered, if the perpetrator could not be discovered, all his slaves, with their wives and children, were put to death. Tacitus relates that when

¹ Shakespeare, Coriolanus, Act v, Sc. iii.

² Reitmeier, Der Zustand der Sklaverei in Griechenland, p. 116.

³ Aristotle, Eth. Nicomach., lib. ix, c. 13. ὁ δοῦλος ἐμψυχον ὄργανον, τὸ δ’ ὄργανον ἀνψυχος δοῦλος.

Pedanius Secundus was murdered as many as four hundred innocent slaves were put to death.¹ During the empire this state of slavery continued, and its evils became more numerous and extreme. There were public marts for slaves, which were filled by captives brought from the wars, or procured from Mediterranean pirates, each slave being labeled with a description of age and qualities. Even the strong protest of Seneca against slavery as one of the many evils which he witnessed during Nero's reign had rather the tone of a hopeless lament than of any hope of improvement.²

There was no department of the social life that was not thoroughly corrupt. The mythology was a mere conglomeration of the licentious life of the people. The gods and minor divinities, themselves the offspring of illicit amours, were regarded by the people as proper examples for popular imitation. The mysteries practiced at Eleusis in their later degenerate days, and in other places, were only wild revels in which passion expressed itself. While the religion fostered this immorality there was no relief found in the laws. The example of gods and men fostered the carnival of lust.

The depth of this moral abyss proclaimed the necessity for a new faith. When Christianity came, therefore, it was found to be not only the revelation of new doctrines, but the regeneration of the moral life of man. Greek culture and Roman organization had

THE UNIVERSAL
DEMAND
FOR CHRISTIANITY.

failed at every point in the catalogue of human virtues.

It was the mission of the religion of Christ at once to teach the mind a pure faith and transform the heart into a fountain of virtuous living. Kurtz thus traces the proof which paganism gives of its own incompetency to meet the demands of humanity: "The principle of paganism is, on the one hand, the denial of the living, personal God, and the contempt of the salvation provided by him. On the other hand, it is the delusion that man can help himself by his own power and wisdom and provide a salvation by his own means. Such an effort, made in sinfulness and weakness, could only end in bankruptcy. Paganism ever sank deeper, notwithstanding the increase of worldly culture and political power, from its height of moral and religious power and dignity into religious emptiness and moral sleep and weakness. The experience always became more decided and positive that neither nature nor art, neither human culture nor wisdom, neither oracles nor mysteries, neither philosophy nor theosophy, neither politics nor industry, and neither the enjoyment of

¹ Ann., xiv, 42, 43; Tholuck, *Der sittliche Character des Heidenthums*, pp. 80, ff.

² See Dollinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, 163, *seq.*

the senses and great luxury could satiate the hunger and thirst of the human spirit for God or calm and restore the lost peace of the soul. This experience was well calculated to break the pride of paganism, and in all better spirits to awaken the necessity, the longing, and the receptivity of the soul for divine salvation in Christ. Thus it was the mission of Judaism to prepare salvation for man; it was the mission of paganism to prepare man for salvation."¹ Christ is the only solution of the dark enigmas furnished by the Greeks and Romans. Or, as Johann von Müller says: "He is the key of universal history, for he locks the old and throws open the new."

¹ *Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte*, p. 49.

CHAPTER II.

JUDAISM AND ITS SECTS.

I. JEWS IN PALESTINE.

THE history and religious belief of the Jewish people present a marked contrast to the faiths and philosophical systems of all pagan nations. With the divine call of Abraham to leave his ancestral home in Mesopotamia there began an historical current which was destined to affect the highest religious interests of humanity. It was his mission to found and locate in Palestine a nation which should become the depository of the divine oracles, the only representative of monotheism, and, finally, the instrument of bringing salvation to the world in the person of the Messiah.

THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD. The patriarchal period was uncertain and temporary. Yet it was in a high degree preparatory, and terminated in the descent of the family of Jacob into Egypt. Here, from seventy souls, it assumed the dimensions of a great nation, and, though a subject race, so rapid was its development that it aroused the jealousy of the reigning dynasty.

Persecution, always the final resort of weak and narrow minds, was resorted to by the Egyptians. But to the Israelites it was the occasion of the revealing to them the divine favor and their own strength. Under the leadership of Moses, one of their own race who had been singularly prepared for his mission by his knowledge of the wisdom of his age, his absence of forty years in the wilderness through which it was to be his mission to lead the people, and that general discipline of character which should fit him for leadership and legislation, the Jews left Egypt, and after a pilgrimage of forty years reached the land of Palestine. But their stay in Egypt had not been without its beneficent effect upon them. They had come in contact with the most cultivated nation of the age, had seen the practical effects of polytheism on a whole people, and had learned the lesson of the weakness of human wisdom in comparison with those divine revelations and miraculous deliverances which underlay their history.

Under Joshua and his successors the tribes became homogeneous, and entered into possession of the whole country promised to Abraham and his posterity. To this succeeded the kingdom, with Saul

as the first king. He was succeeded by David, and he in turn by his son Solomon. Under these rulers the kingdom enjoyed a great degree of prosperity and prestige. After Solomon the kingdom was divided into the Jewish and Israelitish kingdoms. Rivalry, violence, frequent defections toward idolatry, and growing moral and material decline, made both kingdoms an easy prey to surrounding nations. Israel was first conquered by the Assyrians, and subsequently Judah was overcome by the Babylonian rulers, and both nations were led off as exiles into the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the hope that they might be absorbed by the dominant people, or at least be held in easy subjection. Many of the Jews who anticipated exile went to Egypt and settled there, and in Alexandria became the nucleus of the Hellenistic element which had subsequently a very great bearing on the literature and evangelistic movements of the early Christian Church. Only a small portion of Israel, or the ten tribes, returned from exile and settled in Samaria, the most of them being amalgamated with the polytheistic people who had conquered them. But the captives of conquered Judah preserved their identity, and could not even "sing the Lord's song in a strange land." When the Chaldean rulers of Babylonia were conquered by the Medo-Persians under Cyrus the Jews became a part of the subject population. He was lenient to them, and under him and his successors many returned to Palestine and rebuilt their temple at Jerusalem. But there was no political independence granted them, and the Jews remained Persian subjects until the downfall of the Persian empire.

SUMMARY OF
JEWISH AND IS-
RAELITISH HIS-
TORY.

After the dissolution of the empire of Alexander the Great, who had conquered Palestine B. C. 323, the Seleucidæ ruled in Syria and the Ptolemies in Egypt, and between these two the Jews led a timid and subject life, but were finally compelled to submit to the Seleucidæ. The king, Antiochus Epiphanes, tried to Hellenize the Jews by taking possession of Jerusalem, ordering their sacred books to be burned, profaning their sanctuary, and prohibiting the Jewish worship. He foisted the Greek mythology on the Jews, and hoped to destroy the last traces of the worship of Jehovah.

THE ATTEMPT
TO HELLENIZE
THE JEWS.

This effort to obliterate the ancient faith awoke the long dormant patriotic and religious spirit of the people, and once more they strove to regain the old Davidic splendor. Mattathias, a Jewish priest, with his three sons, Judas Maccabæus, Jonathan, and Simon, led a popular revolt and succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Seleucidæ. The first stage in the Maccabæan rule was patriotic,

unselfish, and wise; but family divisions arose, and the Seleucidæ cultivated them by careful management. At this time Pompey was at the head of the victorious Roman army in Asia, and he was invited to settle the dispute. He hastened to the office of umpire, stormed and captured Jerusalem, B. C. 63, and, as usual with the Romans, took possession of Palestine and added it to the empire. The Jews now lost the last vestige of their independence, and their country was ruled by Roman proconsuls and procurators.

After the battle of Philippi, B. C. 43, when the whole East surrendered to Roman arms, Antipater, a powerful Idumean at Jerusalem, hostile alike to the faith, the morals, and the institutions of the Jews, obtained the right of administering the affairs of Palestine. His son, Herod the Great, by shrewd manipulation and by personal friendship with the Roman emperors Caligula and Claudius, gradually became ruler over the whole of Palestine. After his death, A. D. 3 or 4, or in the year of Rome 750 or 751, his kingdom was divided between his three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas. The Jews were restive under this uncertain and oppressive rule over their divided and lacerated country, and, taking advantage of the dissatisfaction in the Roman empire after Nero's death, rose in rebellion under Gessius Florius, A. D. 65, against the Roman authority. They were conquered by Vespasian, who, after he went to Rome to assume imperial command, left his son Titus to complete the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, and the conquest of the country. The last attempt made by the Jews to resist Roman supremacy was A. D. 132-135, when Bar Cochba, claiming to be the true Messiah, led a revolt. It was finally suppressed. Jerusalem was razed to the ground; the Jews were slaughtered or led off into captivity, and a Roman colony, the *Ælia Capitolina*, was established on the site of Jerusalem. One of the chief elements in this last revolt was the bitter persecution of the Christians by the Jews, who, because the Christians would not join in the revolt, regarded them as traitors to the national cause.

II. THE SAMARITANS.

The Samaritans were not a Jewish sect, but a mongrel religious body, in part Jewish and in part Assyrian. When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown and the best people were led off by their Assyrian conquerors into captivity an Assyrian colony was established in Samaria, in order to take the place of the Israelitish population and secure the full later subjection

THE MACCABEAN DOMINATION.
PALESTINE AT THE TIME OF CHRIST.

ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS.

of the land to its new rulers. This oriental and polytheistic element became in time discouraged in its work. Because of the prevalence of wild beasts and other unexpected obstacles they inferred that the god of the country was angry with them, and implored their distant rulers to send them some Israelitish priests to instruct them in the faith of the country. This proposition was accepted, but from the Israelitish and Assyrian elements there sprang a mixed population, the prevailing type being Jewish, though with a strong oriental admixture.¹ Later, when the Jews returned to the south country and proposed to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritans, regarding the cause common, proposed to assist them. The proposition was rejected, because the Jews regarded the Samaritans no longer of their own faith, but as participants in the polytheism of the East. The insult was indignantly repelled.

The Samaritans then built a temple of their own on Mount Gerizim, and established a regular service. Henceforth there were "no dealings" between the Jews and "Samaritans." The latter, securing through Manasseh an ancient copy of the Pentateuch, adhered through their long history to early Hebraism, and like the Jews have continued their existence as an independent religious body down to the present time. Their capital is the ancient Shechem, or Nablus (corruption of the Greek name *Neapolis*), where the marble ruins of their great temple still crown the mountain overlooking the city. They have a high priest, and are still in possession of their copy of the Pentateuch, the oldest in the world, which they regard with superstitious reverence. The Samaritan community numbers but about one hundred and fifty members, but they expect to grow again, and in the language of their late high priest, Amram, to overspread the world!²

THE PRESENT
SAMARITANS.

III. THE PHARISEES.

These were less a sect than a body of the more educated of the Jews of every class, who adhered to the ritual and were the representatives of the hopes, the narrowness, the literalness, and the aspirations of the people. During the dark interval which elapsed between the downfall of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel and the

¹ Hengstenberg takes the view that the Samaritans were of purely heathen origin. But for this view there is little support, either in the known history or the religious faith of the people.

² The best authorities on the Samaritans are Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, Freib., 1866; Appel, *Questiones de rebus Samaritanorum*, Götting., 1874; Nutt, *Sam. Hist., Dogma, and Literature*, Lond., 1874; and Schürer, *Jewish People in Time of Christ*.

supremacy of Rome in Palestine, there had never ceased some hope of national and religious revival. The second temple was built in full hope that it would prove the central point for a new life in faith as well as national integrity and power. But it was only a delusion. The mission of the Jews had failed, and though their ideas of a future state, of the spiritual world, and especially of the divine unity, were greatly disturbed during the captivity, they never fully relapsed into their former grossness. Between the cessation of prophecy and the incarnation of Christ the leading shades of despondent Jewish life and thought took form in certain groups, which represented the leading tendencies of the most educated part of the population.

The Pharisees (the Separated) originated as a distinct class about B. C. 144. They were the ritualists of their age. Seeing the departure of the Jews from the early Mosaic spirit, they aimed

DOCTRINES OF
THE PHARI-
SEES.

at a restoration of the ceremonial law, introduced their own strict interpretation of it, and added to it the rabbinical instruction that had gathered about it during the post-Mosaic time. They elevated tradition to equal dignity with the Scriptures and were especially inclined to allegorical interpretation. There were two tendencies of Pharisaic thought—one, the more austere, critical, and strictly Jewish, directed by Shammai; the other, milder and more in sympathy with Hellenism and other influences from abroad, represented by Hillel. The Pharisees, in spite of their narrow intolerance and strong legalistic bent, were the moral, patriotic, and religious part of the population, and represented all the noblest and best elements of the Jewish religion.¹ There were about six thousand Pharisees at the time of Josephus.

IV. THE SADDUCEES.

The Sadducees (the "Righteous") were a class of Jewish teachers taking their origin from Zadoc (about B. C. 250), who aimed at the restoration of Mosaism to its original state, but rejected tradition and all later additions. They were the rationalists of their day. They were influenced somewhat by Greek philosophy, and especially by the system of Epicurus. They regarded God as author of the universe, but held that he took no active part in its government, that man is the arbiter of his own destiny, that the soul is not immortal, that there is no resurrection, and that angels and spirits have no existence except in

DOCTRINES OF
THE SADDU-
CEES.

¹ The best work on the Pharisees is Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Edinb., 5 vols., 1886-90.

the human imagination and false constructions placed upon the early Scriptures. The Sadducees were essentially not a theological but a political party. They believed that the Jews should make the best of the situation with a view of obtaining every worldly advantage. They were secularists.¹

V. THE ESSENES.

This was an ascetic sect which arose about B. C. 150. Their origin is involved in obscurity, some supposing them to have been Jewish Pythagoreans; others, that they were Therapeutæ who had come into Palestine from Egypt; and still others, Neander among the number, that they were real Jews, who represented originally a profound religious meaning of the Old Testament, but afterward obscured it by old floating Parsi and Chaldean elements. Some recent writers claim that they were simply thoroughgoing Pharisees, "carrying out the Pharisaic views with a consistency which made them ridiculous even in the eyes of their own mother party." They lived on the shore of the Dead Sea in a community apart from the general population. Their faith certainly bore more traces of Persian than of Jewish origin. They regarded the sun as a living and intelligent being. Hence, out of respect to him they would not rise in the morning before he had risen. They observed the Sabbath with great strictness and sent gifts to the temple, but repudiated all bloody sacrifices; they had a thoroughly fatalistic creed, in this resembling the Pharisees; practiced community of goods; permitted only voluntary membership; did not allow matrimony, and excluded all forms of slavery from their community. They practiced the raising of herds and the cultivation of medical science. They numbered about four thousand. They may have stimulated the later monasticism of the Eastern Church, but their influence either on Judaism or Christianity was very slight. As Keim well says: "Essenism was in fact only an admission of helplessness against the actual state of things, renouncing the attempt to restore all Israel, to which it was opposed as heterodox and impure. . . . In fact, the salvation of individuals in the general shipwreck is frankly the watchword of the party. We hear nothing from them of a cry for the kingdom of God, nor for the Messiah, since these were inclosed within their own limits. . . . We may learn from its weakness that the healing power which arose upon the

DOCTRINES OF
THE ESSENES.

KEIM ON THE
ESSENES.

¹ Stapfer has an interesting and scholarly treatment of both the Pharisees and Sadducees in Palestine in the Time of Christ. N. Y., 1888, 3d ed., book II, pp. 265-336.

nation, and, indeed, upon the world, with fresh creative fruitfulness, cannot be counted among the impulses and forces of Essenism."

VI. THE DISPERSED JEWS.

The Jews are the heroes of the sacred Odyssey. They have been the wanderers of history for thirty centuries. Ever since the reign of Solomon their life has alternated between an uncertain residence in their own country and banishment to other lands. On four different occasions Nebuchadnezzar brought captive colonies to Babylonia from the conquered tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Only a portion of the captives in Babylonia availed themselves of the permission of Cyrus to return to Jerusalem—forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty freemen, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven servants and maids, and two hundred singers. Those who remained in Babylonia became absorbed in the native population, while still others went into the provinces beyond the Euphrates. About B. C. 350 a large number of Jews were established at Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea, by Artaxerxes Ochus. Syria, under the reign of Seleucus Nicator, B. C. 312-280, received a vast Jewish population, so that two centuries before Christ they constituted the chief part of the people of Antioch and of the country of which that city was the magnificent capital.¹ In the interval between Alexander the Great and A. D. 70 the Jews had extended over Assyria, Babylonia,

LOCALITIES OF
THE DISPERSED
JEWS.

¹ Hist. of Jesus of Nazara, i, 358, ff., Hilgenfeld (Ketzergesch., pp. 87-149) derives the Essenes from the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv), who, he claims, eventually abandoned their tent life and settled at Gerasa, called by Josephus Essa, west of the Dead Sea. Lucius has given a thorough investigation to this subject (Der Essenismus, Strasburg, 1881). He makes the Essenes a part of the Chasidim, "the pious," or the Nazirim, "the abstinent," a sort of voluntary priesthood of Jewish ascetics mentioned in the Talmud. Compare 1 Macc. ii. 42; vii, 13; 2 Macc. xiv, 6. "They were the first society in the world to condemn slavery both in theory and practice." Ohle tries to show that the Essenes were Christian monks, and that the sections in Philo's Quod Omnis Probus Liber (12, 13) which speak of the Essenes were interpolated, and that the De Vita Contemplativa usually attributed to Philo is spurious (Jahrb. f. prot. Theol., 1887: Hh. 2, 3; 1888, H. 2). But this is an extreme view. It is combated by Hilgenfeld in Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol., 1888, H. 1, and Massabiean in Revue de l'histoire des religions, T. xvi, No. 2 and 3. For an elaborate discussion by Hilgenfeld, see also Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol., xxiii, 4: s. 423, ff., and (trans.) Baptist Review, Jan., 1882, pp. 36-56. For the Essenes, see also Lightfoot in Ep. to the Col., 5th ed., 1880, pp. 349-419, and Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 323-407, and Ginsburg, in Smith and Wace, Dict. of Chr. Biog., etc., art. "Essenes."

² Wiltch, Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, pp. 10, ff.

Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and the Ægean islands, while individual Jews had penetrated through Chorasán and Samarcand to China.¹ In Lydia and Phrygia we find a colony of two thousand families, transferred thither by Antiochus the Great, who increased in numbers and industrial strength to such an extent that they became the migratory current which rapidly spread through the interior and along the coast of Asia Minor, through the Greek peninsula from Macedonia on the north to the southern boundary, and then to the Ionian islands and along the Adriatic coast.

In many instances these Jewish colonies coalesced with the surrounding populations, but in some cases they so fully preserved their individuality that they succeeded in influencing the reigning houses to adopt their faith. For example, B. C. 128, INDIVIDUALITY OF THE JEWS. Abu-Carb Asad, king of the Homerites, or Immereni, in Arabia, adopted the Jewish religion, and so fully made it the belief of the people that it continued to be such over six centuries, until the Ethiopian king, Elesbaan, conquered Dhu-Norvas, the Homerite king, and destroyed his kingdom. In Adiabene, an Assyrian province, King Izates and his mother Helena became Jews, but without changing the faith of the people.

Africa, however, was the chief continent to which the Jews went; and Egypt, Cyrene, and Lybia received a large Jewish population. Even Ethiopia was not without them. Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great as a great commercial *entrepôt* for his Eastern empire, was occupied chiefly by Jews, while he assigned eight thousand Samaritans to the Thebaid.² ALEXANDRIA THE CENTER OF JEWISH INFLUENCE. Owing to the residence of the Jews in Alexandria and the privileges granted them, they developed to a degree equaled nowhere else in their history as a dispersed people. Here they cultivated letters, and produced, under Philo and his successors, that strange phenomenon—an attempt to harmonize Greek philosophy with Jewish theology, and out of the combination to produce a justification of the Christian system. The Neoplatonic philosophy, with all its inconsistencies, proves, at least, the remarkable recuperative power of the Jewish mind.

The first Jewish colony in Rome consisted of captives brought thither by Pompey from Palestine (B. C. 61), though the city had probably already wealthy Jewish residents. For ages they have occupied a particular part of the city, the Ghetto, a portion of

¹ Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Theil ii. pp. 255, ff. On the Chinese Jews, see Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, book xiv. vol. ii, pp. 493–497. They occupied a prominent and honored place in the empire.

² Wiltsch, *Ibid.*, pp. 12, ff.

which was removed in 1885 and following years to make room for the new Tiber embankment.¹ Under Julius Cæsar they received special privileges. They were declared freedmen (*libertini*), their synagogues were dignified with the name of allowed conventicles (*collegia licita*), and they regarded Jerusalem as their religious capital, whither they sent their contributions of money, their offerings to the temple service,² and to which they repaired in large numbers annually to the great festivals.

The Jews in Rome constantly increased, many proselytes from paganism being added to them. They had their own synagogue, and conducted their service. They observed the Sabbath, bathed, abstained from certain meats, and regarded religiously all the festivals of their fathers. Their presence in Rome was especially obnoxious to the cultivated classes. The Roman satirists frequently made them the object of their invective. Juvenal said that they prayed to nothing but the clouds and the empty heavens.³ Celsus also declared that they prayed to the heavens.⁴ Even Seneca, tolerant as he generally was of new forms of faith, complained that they were overspreading all lands; that, though everywhere conquered, they gave laws to their conquerors, and that their resting on the Sabbath was an absolute loss of one seventh of the time.⁵ Other Italian cities became homes for the Jews.⁶ In A. D. 19 Tiberius settled four thousand emancipated Jews in Sardinia. Professor Bilmann has endeavored to prove that the Finlanders are of Jewish origin, and that the Jews reached Scandinavia at the same time with the Scythians. Olaus Rudbeck has set up a plausible theory that they penetrated as far as the snows of Lapland, and that the Laplander is only a modern Jew; while Asahel Grant with still greater force has undertaken to show by analogy of language, religion, and social customs that the Nestorians are of the same origin.⁷

¹ On Jews in the Ghetto. see Story, *Roba di Roma*. Lond., 1862; new ed., 1875.

² Cicero in his Oration for Flaccus deprecates the draining of the provinces of money to satisfy these Jewish tributes to Jerusalem.

³ Sat. xiv, 96, ff.

⁴ Origen contr. Celsum, i, p. 18; v, p. 234.

⁵ Ap. Aug. C. D., vi, 11. Compare Dollinger, *Jew and Gentile*, ii, pp. 181, 182.

⁶ Cicero pro Flacco, cap. xxviii.

⁷ Büsching, *Erdbeschreibung*. Th. i, s. 630; Fabricius, *Salutaris lux evang.*, p. 761; Grant, *History of the Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, N. Y., 1841. Badger has controverted Grant in his learned work. *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, Lond., 1852. So also has Dr. Thomas Laurie, of Providence, R. I., in his valuable history of the Mission. Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians. Bost., 1853. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, Berl., 12 vols., 1854-75, the great Jewish authority, is now accessible in abridged form in a translation by the Jewish Publication Society, Phila., 1893-96, 6 vols.

CHAPTER III.

THE FULLNESS OF THE TIME—JESUS THE CHRIST.

BEFORE the incarnation of Christ there was no part of the earth which presented any relief to the darkness of the prevailing moral and intellectual condition of humanity. In Greece, where there was most ground for hope, the great systems of philosophy had fulfilled their mission and had degenerated into a cold and negative skepticism. "All the schools," says Dollinger, "died a natural death while paganism was still in full swing, and, to all appearance, in unbounded reputation."¹

UNIVERSAL
MORAL DARK-
NESS.

In Rome the simple and pure morals of the republican period had declined and, with the increasing luxury in life and disrespect toward the national divinities, a popular dissatisfaction with all the traditional beliefs increased. The Asiatic and Egyptian faiths, which had been brought to a knowledge of the West by the Macedonian and Roman conquerors, promised no support, for they had in them no element worthy to take the place of the now half-effete mythology. Judaism was not respected by either the Greek or Roman mind, and its adaptation to the universal wants of man was not thought of for a moment. But in the midst of this condition of despondency and failure there was an anticipation of relief. The hope of a Redeemer lay in the very atmosphere of the age. Jewish prophecy, now silent for four centuries, had awakened in the Jew an expectation of a Messiah whose coming was expected at any time. Even the pagan mind, as we learn from Tacitus and Suetonius, was yearning for a deliverer who should remove the great burden in faith and life.² The wise men from the East, who followed the star to Bethlehem, represented the universal Eastern expectation of a Redeemer. The Persians were at this time looking for the appearance of their Sosiosh, who should conquer Ahriman and his kingdom of dark-

UNIVERSAL EX-
PECTATION OF
A REDEEMER.

¹ Jew and Gentile, ii, p. 159.

² Suetonius says: "Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio. esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur." Vesp., c. 4. Tacitus says: "Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur." Annales, v, 13.

ness, while Confucius, in China, had led his followers to expect a Holy One who should appear in the West.¹

The preparation for Christianity was now complete. For centuries no notable event took place which does not seem to have removed the barriers for the new coming faith. War and peace, skepticism and superstition, learning and ignorance, united toward a common end to prepare the world for a new faith and to provide facilities for its rapid and permanent diffusion. Even the polytheism of the heathen combined with the rigid monotheism of the Jews for the same great purpose, while each people concerned in or affected by the culture of Greece and Rome indulged a calm expectation that relief from the ebb and flow of universal misery was at hand.

When Jesus, the Christ, was born at Bethlehem in Judea, he was the response to the universal aspiration of man. He was, as Haggai had declared, "The Desire of all nations." Having passed his youth chiefly at Nazareth and arriving at the age of thirty, he entered upon his public ministry. His first act was to apply publicly the Messianic expectations and prophecies to himself, when he read in the synagogue at Nazareth these words from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."²

Between this formal entering on his career and the ascension lay Christ's ministry of over three years. In moral significance no such life had ever been lived by any man. His brief career is still the supreme miracle of history. While new lives of him are still appearing in all the leading languages of Christendom, we are as far as ever from finding a human solution of his example, doctrine, and mediatorial work. As a teacher, his words were simple, direct, and saving. He spoke no word which his most ardent follower at this late century would wish unsaid. As a worker of miracles, he was not prodigal of his omnipotence, but wrought only works of healing and love. As a sufferer, his patience and silence were sublime and unflinching. As a friend, he had his intense attachments, and wept with those who

¹ Compare Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church, p. 183. Also, Trench, Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathenism. Lond., 5th ed., 1880.

² Luke iv, 18, 19.

loved him. He forbade the sword in his defense when the shadow of his passion fell across his path. In death he had only words of love and prayer for his murderers, and when he arose, the first fruits of them that slept. he solved the long mystery of every thinking age, the resurrection of the human body. Lingered a short time in the society of his friends and followers, he ascended from Olivet, leaving behind the legacy of a spotless character and a triumphant doctrine. Himself the object of prophecy as old as sin itself, he passed to his throne with the twofold promise for his stricken followers—the descending Spirit of power and his own perpetual presence.

A tone of sadness had pervaded Christ's life, and yet of unparalleled hopefulness. He spoke frequently of his kingdom, and represented it as the grain of mustard seed, small at first, but producing a tree under whose branches the fowls of the air should take refuge. His sorrows, not the result of personal suffering, but of CHRIST AND HIS KINGDOM. the misery of others, were relieved by the dwelling of his mind on the future and the leading of his followers to a new life of meekness, poorness of spirit, peacemaking, tribulation, and of rejoicing in hope of the heavenly reward. He found the world in bondage, but left it with its chains broken. He found diverse elements of faith and tradition, but he had set in motion the great unifying agency; or, as Baur exquisitely says, his religion was "the natural unity of all these elements."¹ He rebuked sin, but always had compassion on the sinner. To the despondent he gave hope, and to the aged and dying world, in the language of Augustine, "a new and youthful life."

¹ Kirchengeschichte d. drei ersten Jahrhunderten, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV.

PENTECOST AND ITS RESULTS.

THE descent of the Holy Spirit at the first Jewish Pentecost succeeding the death of our Lord had a great twofold significance: It was the fulfillment of Christ's promise to his followers of the endowment of power from on high, and the divine removal of all former limitations to the declaration of the truth and its supernatural effect on human character and destiny. The Spirit had, indeed, been always present and operative with true believers, but the descent at Pentecost was the pledge that our entire humanity should participate in the benefits of salvation recently wrought by Christ. It removed the work of Christ from the narrow limits of an episode in Jewish history into the sphere of application to the entire need and duration of humanity. Hence the descent of the Spirit was at once the only proper culmination of our Lord's ministry, the only finally needful miraculous proof of its divine authority and character, and the introduction of the agency which should give it perpetual efficacy to the world. Jesus had prepared the soil and sown the precious seed: the Spirit which he had promised, and which was to be the divine substitute for his visible presence and audible word, was to be the gentle rain and genial sunlight to cause its germination for a rich growth and the final harvest.

The day on which the Spirit descended, the fiftieth after our Lord's resurrection and the tenth after his ascension, was calculated to awaken unusual emotions in the mind of the devout Jew. It was the most sacred day in his calendar. Pentecost, "the feast of weeks," or "the feast of harvest," was the great national festival of thanksgiving for the annual harvest, and, according to an old tradition, also of the gift of the law on Mount Sinai, when the theocracy of the nation was founded. Jews from remote regions were accustomed to meet in their sacred city, endeared alike by its glory and its desolation, and revive their religious and national memorials by the joyous celebration of Pentecost. No occasion, therefore, of the whole year was so well adapted for impressing powerfully the Jewish mind by the proclamation of any new truth, and it was chosen by

DESCENT OF
THE SPIRIT THE
CULMINATION
OF CHRIST'S
MINISTRY.

PENTECOST
THE OCCASION
OF UNIVERSAL
MEETING OF
THE JEWS.

God as the fit time for the outpouring of the Spirit of comfort and power. As with other great divine manifestations, such as the gift of the law and the dedication of Solomon's temple, so here, there were remarkable physical manifestations of the divine presence and power.

The unity and calmness of the meeting were broken by a sudden sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind, which filled the place with its power. On the heads of the worshipers there flamed cloven tongues, as of fire, and the gift of miraculous utterance was imparted to them. The multitude was attracted to the place, the worshipers spoke in new tongues to the astounded auditors, and, for the time, the curse of many languages at Babel was removed by the gift of one at Pentecost.¹

THE SCENE AT
PENTECOST.

The best view of the *glossolalia*, as the gift of tongues is called, is that which makes it an act of worship or devotion, a purely religious phenomenon, the result of an unusual spiritual quickening, interpreted by the Spirit in the vernacular of each listening believer. The unbelievers attributed the whole scene to a drunken frenzy. It was not a permanent or even temporary endowment of the miraculous knowledge of foreign tongues. Greek and Hebrew, which the apostles already knew, were all-sufficient for their purposes. Something similar has appeared in communities under powerful religious stimulus, as among the Camisards, early Quakers, Läsare in Sweden in 1841-43, in the Irish Revival of 1859, and in the Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) Church.²

BEST VIEW OF
THE GIFT OF
TONGUES.

The people were divided in opinion, some asking in uncertainty, "What meaneth this?" and others attributing the phenomenon to intoxication from new wine. Then Peter arose and addressed the people, first declaring the scene a fulfillment of prophecy; then describing the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and applying the work of Christ to the salvation of men. The effect was instantaneous and overwhelming. Three thousand were converted, and the whole body of believers were molded into such unity and love that from that day to this the spiritual power and holy zeal of the believers at Pentecost have been regarded as the best image in all history of a complete and progressive Church.

The results of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost were:

1. The formal entrance of the apostles upon a universal ministry

¹ Grotius: "Poena linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum redigit." Annotat. ad Acta Apostolorum, ii, 8.

² The best discussion is in Schaff, Church Hist., rev. ed., i, 224, 234-242. Compare Thatcher, Hist. of the Apostolic Church, Bost., 1893, pp. 73-76.

of the Gospel. They had been called during the life of Jesus, and by him, but their future had been only dimly indicated. He had told them, at his ascension, to preach the Gospel to every creature, but to pause until they should be endowed with power from on high. They now received practical proof of the divine presence in the discharge of this broad commission. Every region of the

UNIVERSAL
MINISTRY OF
THE APOSTLES.

known earth was represented in their first audience—Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Mesopotamians, Palestinian Jews, Cappadocians, dwellers in Pontus and throughout Asia Minor, Phrygians, Pamphylians, Egyptians, Libyans, Jews and proselytes in Rome, Cretes, and Arabians. The dim star of the old Jewish particularism was about to disappear, and the sun of Christian universality to rise for the illumination of the whole world and all coming ages.

2. The endowment of spiritual power. Hitherto the disciples had been timid, hesitating, often the proper subjects of reproof by Christ for want of faith. They had accepted the true doctrine from Christ, but it had not been vital in them. Now, however, there was an unwonted heroism. Their hearts were filled with a force which lifted up all their contact with Jesus into a lifelong transfiguration which interpreted to them in a new light his darker sayings, which consumed all the remaining doubts as to his per-

ENDOWMENT
OF SPIRITUAL
POWER.

petual presence and the certain triumph of his truth, and which would make them fearless before any audience and amid any persecution. To them it was only a question of time as to which should conquer in Palestine, Christianity or Judaism, and which in the Roman world, Christianity or the ethnic faiths which despised it.

3. The fulfillment of prophecy. Peter touched a sympathetic key when he applied the event to the prophecy of Joel: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men

PROPHECY
FULFILLED.

shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. . . . And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." The aspiration of the Jewish Church in all its better periods was for the endowment of spirituality. The mind was always burdened with a sense of its poor endowments. The sad feeling that heaven had new treasures in reserve, not yet given, pervades the whole history of Judaism. In the patriarchal times it was the inspira-

¹ Acts ii, 17-21.

tion which made the future bright and worthy of hope. In the divided monarchy, and amid the sorrows of many an exile, and all through the Maccabæan rule, it was the sure word of prophecy that reared a new temple, restored their sacred city, and made them once more a mighty people, with a scion of David's line as ruler. It was the fulfillment of prophecy, by the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost, which first gave clearness and force to the minds of the disciples of the whole system of Messianic prophecy in the Old Testament.

4. The immediate declaration of the truth. The old barriers of varied speech were removed. We hear nothing of an interpreter. The gift was less upon the auditor than the speaker, PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL who was so filled with the consuming spirit that his natural linguistic limitations were removed, and each stranger heard in his own tongue. This universality of speech was a type of the new universal love. Or, as Augustine says: "One man spake with every tongue, because the unity of the Church was about to speak in all tongues."¹

5. The law of revival was ordained and inaugurated. The slow processes by which the believer should arrive at a knowledge of the truth were done away. The change of heart could REVIVAL henceforth be a thing of a day, or a moment. This is the present law for the conversion of the world, and he who would doubt the power of God to convert souls instantly and in great numbers, whether in Christian or heathen lands, practically ignores the lesson of Pentecost, when three thousand were converted, and "daily" thereafter there were added others to the original number.

6. The mode of Christian life and faith was proclaimed for all ages. This was unity of heart, the sharing of temporal CHRISTIAN LIFE possessions with the needy, purity of doctrine, frequent and stated worship in public and private, and gladness and singleness of soul.

7. The organization and establishment of the Christian Church. The Church, after Peter's sermon and the miraculous effects produced by it, took immediate steps toward organization. There was no longer an uncertain mind as to the future, but a sense of unity and incipient organization which required only time and the adjustment of details to take visible form. Had not a large

¹ "Venit spiritus sanctus, implevit discipulos, coeperunt loqui linguis omnium gentium; signum in illis procedebat unitatis. Loquebatur enim tunc unus homo, omnibus linguis, quia locutura erat unitas ecclesie in omnibus linguis." Sermones, 175.

number of Christ's immediate followers, amounting to one hundred and twenty, including the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus and his brethren, met in a fixed place, the upper room, and continued in prayer and supplication? Did not this company take deliberate measures to supply the place made vacant by the defection of Judas, and complete again the apostolic circle by the choice of Matthias? The sole need now was the communication

**THE CHURCH
ORGANIZED.**

of that all-consuming spiritual power which should produce the profound inner life, the unity of heart, and the heroism of will necessary alike for the Church in its genetic period and in all its subsequent development. After the endowment of power the three thousand newly converted souls were baptized and added to the original company of believers. This body, "all that believed," now continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread and prayers; they sold their possessions and goods, and had all things in common; they continued daily with one accord in the temple, broke bread from house to house, and praised God; and the Lord added to the "Church" daily those who were being saved.¹ The divine force was given. It now remained to be seen what disposition the body of believers would make of the new endowment, and with what spirit they would go forth for the spiritual conquest of the world.²

¹ Acts ii, 39-47.

² See elaborate discussion by Baumgarten, *Apostolic Hist.*, i, 40-63.

CHAPTER V.

THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

THE apostolic period extends from the founding of the Church at Pentecost to the death of the apostle John. Its divisions are:

1. The establishment of the Christian Church among the Jews to the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, A. D. 30-50;
2. The establishment of the Church among the nations to the death of Paul, A. D. 50-66; and
3. The blending of the Jewish and national elements under the ministry and example of John, A. D. 66-101.

In general terms these may be called the Jewish Period, the National Period, and the Period of Reconciliation. The life of the Christians and the preaching and epistles of the apostles were the most powerful human factors in the internal development of the Church and its territorial expansion. The pagan judgment of Christians assumed an increasingly favorable character because of their irreproachable life as the first century came to a close. So much was this the fact that the leading representatives of the pagan philosophy thought they could see in the Gospel certain parallelisms with the better doctrines of their own system, and some did not hesitate to attempt a systematic harmonization of the two. That they failed might have been expected, for the contrast between paganism and Christianity is so positive, and their effects on life so antagonistic, that no thinker, either in that early period or in any later century, has been able to construct any approach to a harmonious system.

DIVISIONS OF
THE APOSTOLIC
PERIOD.

The preaching of the apostles combined all the essential elements of a perfect mode of presenting truth to the hearer. It has never been improved. So certain is this that during all the later periods of ecclesiastical history the preaching that has been most successful has most nearly approached the apostolic type, while that of least efficacy has been the farthest removed from it. The quality of the preaching of the apostles cannot be entirely explained on the ground of special endowments. The native gifts were not greater, excepting in Paul and some other apostles, than are to be found in the average ministry of our own times. But the apostles were so singularly conscious of the truth of the word, so possessed that heroic readiness to declare it in any

APOSTOLIC
PREACHING.

presence, and, above all, so grouped all their declarations around the personality of Christ that their appeal was irresistible, apart from all miraculous phenomena. Their experiences were calculated to make their preaching intensely realistic. The most of them had been associated with Christ during his ministry, and had been witnesses of their risen and ascended Lord. They uttered what they had seen, and their declarations had all the power of vivid pictures. Had they possessed no further supernatural endowment than is the perpetual privilege of the minister of the Gospel, their preaching would still stand the matchless thing it is—a model for the triumphant declaration of the truth.¹

One of the peculiar features of the apostolic preaching was its incidental character. There was no waiting of an apostle for a great opportunity. His only state occasion was when, like Paul before Felix, he was led as a prisoner before a ruler in purple to give an account of himself and answer the charge of infraction of the laws. He was not without his opportunities, but they were furnished him in the prison, by the wayside, and in the humble home where he might be sheltered for the night. He did not live to see the day when ministers of the Gospel overlooked the individual in the great organized ecclesiastical life. He felt that his message was largely to human units, though equally ready to present it to the multitude. He was equally at home with any audience. He had not forgotten the example of Christ, who, in reply to questions from bystanders, or from the natural scenes of the hour had preached his Gospel largely by incidental suggestion. Christ thus differed from all the teachers in the great schools of Egypt and Greece, who had their groves and porticoes where they might dispense their doctrines to sympathetic and confiding younger minds. His stoa was the dusty highway, or the crowded street, or the pebbly shore of Jewish Galilee, and his audiences were often more hostile than friendly, and sought him less for what he might say than to receive the touch of his healing hand. This memory of the great Example was fresh in the minds of the apostles, and, besides, they had not forgotten that he had given them early in their companionship with him special instructions as to the best methods of preaching his doctrines, had reinforced these first lessons by others, and, just before his ascension, pointed them to the world as their field and every creature as their auditor.

¹ See Hoppin, *Homiletics*, rev. ed., pp. 35-40. On the necessity of being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of scriptural preaching, see Shedd, *Homiletics and Pastoral Theol.*, pp. 16-37.

So far did this incidental method of preaching extend that there was not even an organized plan as to the scene of apostolic activity. That Paul and Barnabas should go to the nations, and Peter and John to the Jews, was the only approximation to a system for the evangelization of the world. The details were left to the revealing and guiding Spirit, and to the exigency of the hour. Who cannot see that Paul's journeys were largely without plan, except in the mere outline? His visit to Macedonia and traversing the entire Greek peninsula were due to his disappointment in being divinely prohibited from preaching in Bithynia and the province of Asia.

But the apostles possessed, in addition, miraculous gifts. As Christ performed miracles to attest the divinity of his nature and his doctrine, and as a necessary initial method for the introduction of his reign on earth, so he granted to his apostles a similar proof of divine authority. Immediately after the descent of the Spirit miracles were performed in great number, and in the presence of many witnesses. The author of the Acts of the Apostles says: "And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people. . . . They (the people) brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed, every one."¹

The brief period between Pentecost and Paul's conversion seems to have been a time when there was a special need of this divine attestation of the truth of Christianity and the apostolic authority. The Jewish mind was peculiarly hostile, while there is every reason to suppose that the representatives of Roman authority were equally alarmed at the sudden development of the new faith. The apostles were specially endowed for the great emergency, and their miracles, like those of the Master, were all of humane and restorative character, and were never employed to contribute to their personal convenience or relief from danger of death, but for the help of the vast number of sufferers for whom neither the science nor the religion of Jew or Roman had furnished hope or deliverance. There was a decline in the number of miraculous phenomena at the time of Paul's conversion. He, however, possessed and exercised the same supernatural endowment. He raised Eutychus from the dead, struck Elymas with blindness,

NO PLAN OF
APOSTOLIC AC-
TIVITY.

MIRACULOUS
GIFTS.

DECLINE OF
MIRACULOUS
MANIFESTA-
TIONS.

¹ Acts v, 12-16.

healed the cripple at Lystra, restored the sick at Ephesus, and cured the father of Publius at Melita. These are only occasional outgivings of a power which he exercised whenever there was need of it, rather to meet an emergency than to be used in the everyday discharge of his apostolic functions.

The gift of tongues was a peculiar miraculous endowment designed to overcome the linguistic barriers of the hearer. It was not a sudden communication of the knowledge of a strange language or dialect, designed for the more direct communication of the Gospel either to individuals or nations, but a powerful and instantaneous enlargement of inspiration, when the speaker declared truths in a language whose laws he did not understand. He was, for the time, under the power of a divine afflatus which made him the instrument for a broader communication of the truth than his education had taught him, and which he did not need, and did not possess, in the ordinary exercise of his duties. There is no ground for supposing that the apostles understood the dialects of the country through which they passed. We do know that at Lystra Paul did not understand the barbarous Lycaonian tongue, or he would not have addressed the people in Greek. The miraculous gift of tongues was always designed as a spiritual aid for the convincing of the hearer. "Wherefore tongues are for a sign," says Paul, "not to them that believe, but to them that believe not."¹

While miraculous intervention in the usual course of nature and the gift of tongues must be regarded as the preponderating apostolic endowments, there were other supernatural gifts. Paul's catalogue of the offices in the apostolic Church carries with it an enumeration of all the divine endowments: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."² The gift of prophecy, in the original sense, did not exist in the apostolic Church for the reason that the great burden of Old Testament prophecy had been fulfilled in Christ. The New Testament prophecy was, in the main, the power to teach the mind and touch the heart. But it also implied the knowledge of the future. Agabus declared in Antioch the universal dearth which came to

¹ 1 Cor. xiv, 22. Compare Neander, Planting and Training, ed. Robinson, pp. 11-18, 257.

² 1 Cor. xii, 28: "Καὶ οἷς μὲν ἐθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφῆτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν."

pass in the reign of Claudius Cæsar.¹ The four daughters of Philip the evangelist possessed the same prophetic power.² But prophecy as exercised in the apostolic period meant chiefly a powerful and inspired revelation of the truth in all its breadth. It carried with it a force of utterance, a knowledge of the whole truth declared, and a power of conviction which did not exist under the conditions of ordinary inspiration. It was a form of declaration so powerful that the hearer, however hostile, was overcome by the appeal. In such cases prophecy was employed. It convinced the heart, both by what it communicated and by the knowledge that it exhibited of the very mysteries of the heart to which the appeal was made. This is expressly declared by Paul: "But if all prophecy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."³

There was, besides, a supernatural element in the teaching, ministration, and government of the preachers of the Gospel who immediately succeeded our Lord in the declaration of his truth. Their task was peculiar, and stands alone among the problems which God's servants have had to solve. It was not God's choice that they should be elevated above danger, or the trials and sufferings on land or sea, or breathe their life out upon peaceful death-beds. But it was his choice that, when their natural powers reached their farthest limits, their faith should be enriched with such supernatural responses that their ministry would be convincing and successful. They received these subtle reinforcements to their native and acquired powers in such measure that "they turned the world upside down." When their work of "planting and training," as Neander beautifully terms it, was done, there was no further need of miracle or supernatural gift.

MIRACLE NO
LONGER NECESSARY.

Miraculous powers did not at once cease after the close of the apostolic age. But the evidence of postapostolic miracles is vague and obscure. The alleged miracles themselves were trifling and almost ridiculous in comparison with the New Testament works. Newman himself allows this.⁴ Though the fathers did not deny that wonders were enacted

VAGUE EVIDENCE OF POST-APOSTOLIC MIRACLES.

¹ Acts xi, 28. ² Acts xxi, 9.

³ 1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25. On the New Testament prophets, see Meyer on Acts xi, 27, and 1 Cor. xii, 10; Harnack, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., art. "New Testament Prophets;" Meyrick, in *Smith's Bible Dict.*, iii. 2602, Am. ed.; and Mosheim, *Hist. Commentaries on the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church*, i, 165, 166.

⁴ *Essays on Miracles*, 5th ed., pp. 116, 117.

in their own times, they uniformly represent the great works of the Lord and the apostles as having ceased. "Why," say they, "do not these miracles take place now, which, as you preach to us, took place once? I might answer that they were necessary before the world believed, that it might believe."¹ "Argue not," says St. Chrysostom, "because miracles do not happen now that they did not happen then. . . . In those times they were profitable, and now they are not. . . . The more evident and constraining are the things which happen the less room there is for faith."² Augustine, however, argues for the continuousness of miraculous manifestations, and gives a list; but he says significantly that these do not authenticate the Church as divine, but the Church authenticates the miracles. The Donatists and the heretics had their miracles. "The Church does spiritually every day," says Gregory the Great, "what she did corporally through the apostles. And these spiritual miracles are the greater."³

Singularly endowed as the first Christian preachers were, they have ever been regarded as the best human models in administration, charity, heroism, and wisdom in appeal to the heart and understanding. All later departures have been defections from the example of apostolic times, while all true reformers have aimed to bring the Church back to sympathy with, and resemblance to, what Johann von Müller well calls, "the Church of the century of wonders."

THE APOSTOLIC
PREACHERS
THE BEST MOD-
ELS FOR ALL
TIMES.

¹ Aug. De Civ. Dei, xxii, 8, § 1.

² Hom. in 1 Cor. vi, 2, 3. Compare Ambrose. Ep. i, 22; Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. iv, 80; Pope Gregory, in Evang., ii, 29.

³ Newman, in his Essays on Ecclesiastical Miracles, gives an acute discussion of the whole subject from the point of view of a believer. The best skeptical treatment is still Conyers Middleton's Introductory Discourse and Free Inquiry (1748). Middleton, who is called the English Lessing, had a cold and critical intellect of great learning and penetration. Macaulay calls him "the great iconoclast—"

"So wary held and wise
That, as 'twas said, he scarce received
For Gospel what the Church believed."

An abundant literature grew up around his epoch-making treatise.

CHAPTER VI.

THE APOSTLES AND THE SCENES OF THEIR LABORS.

THE apostolic group at the time of Pentecost consisted of the following : Simon Peter, Andrew, James the elder (son of Zebedee), John, Philip, Thomas, called Didymus, Bartholomew (Nathanael), Matthew, James the younger (son of Alphæus), Thaddæus, or Lebbaeus, Simon, the zealot or Canaanite, and Matthias, chosen by lot to take the place of Judas Iscariot.

I. PETER AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.

The apostle Peter represented the strongly aggressive Jewish element in the first stage of the Church. His restoration to divine favor after his denial of our Lord was complete, and he was the representative of the whole Church on the day of Pentecost. His ardent temperament and lingering attachment to the faith of his fathers adapted him especially to the evangelization of the country occupied by the Jews. The death of Stephen, the young deacon, at Jerusalem, about the year 33 or 34, was the beginning of the first persecution which caused the apostles to leave that city. Philip, the evangelist, went northward into Samaria preaching, and was soon followed by Peter, accompanied by John. Their success was great, large numbers being added to the Church. The persecution came to an end throughout the three provinces, and the number of believers multiplied.¹ The period of rest, however, was due to no friendly feeling toward the Christians, but through a diversion of the Jewish mind. Caligula, the Roman emperor, in his eager desire to receive universal adoration went so far as to attempt the destruction of the Jewish faith, and caused his statue to be set up for worship in the Jewish temple. This extreme measure drove the Jews to the point of rebellion, which ceased only through the sudden death of Caligula.

During this pause in the persecution two notable events occurred : first, Paul's conversion, and, after a lapse of three years, his presentation by Barnabas to the apostles in Jerusalem ; and, second, the memorable journey of Peter to the coast, where, at Joppa, he was taught by a vision

¹ Acts ix, 31.

the universality of the Gospel. He gave a twofold proof of his acceptance of the great truth by eating in the house of Simon the tanner, and by receiving into the Church without the preliminary circumcision, but by baptism alone, the Roman officer Cornelius, connected with the noble families of the Scipios, Sulla, and the Gracchi.

The persecution beginning with the death of Stephen had strangely enlarged the field of apostolic labor. Among the Christians driven from Jerusalem were some Hellenists from the island of Cyprus, and from Cyrene, in Egypt, and they went along the maritime Phœnician plain as far northward as Antioch, and included Cyprus also in their field of labor.

At Antioch the Christians met with signal success, and it was here, and now, that the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians. This city was a great center of commercial, political, and intellectual importance. It was founded B. C. 300 by Seleucus Nicator, and named after his father Antiochus, and at this time was the third city in the Roman empire, Rome and Alexandria alone surpassing it. Its walls were fifteen feet thick and fifty feet high. Its buildings were surpassed in splendor by only a few in

Rome. It was a meeting place of the populations of both Europe and Asia, and Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin were only a few of the languages spoken by its citizens. The apostles early saw its value as a key for the distribution of the Gospel westward. With them that Syrian city was to the Church of Asia Minor and even Greece what Rome later became to Italy and the North. The news of the success of the Gospel in Antioch being received at Jerusalem, Barnabas was sent as a special messenger to aid in the work of evangelization and consolidation. He "was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."¹ Evidently feeling the need of cooperation he went to Tarsus for Paul, and the two returned to Antioch, and remained a year there in charge of the rapidly advancing Church. Subsequently Paul and Barnabas returned to Jerusalem with contributions for the needy Christians there. They again set out for Antioch, which was now the real center of the Church, taking with them John Mark, a man of Jewish parentage and cousin of Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas were now chosen by the Church at Antioch for special apostolic work, and they proceeded on a tour to Seleucia, Cyprus, Pexga in Pamphylia, the Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra,

¹ Acts xi, 23.

and returned to the Syrian Antioch, and made report of their success.

The greatest crisis in the history of the apostolic Church was now at hand. It sorely tested both the faith and charity of the entire body of believers. The question at issue was, whether all persons entering the Church must first pass through the Jewish ceremonial of circumcision, or whether profession of faith and baptism were ample conditions of membership. When Paul and Barnabas reached Antioch they found the brethren who had come from Jerusalem, and were advocating the ceremonial of the Mosaic law as a condition of Church fellowship. Peter seems for a time to have been in favor of the Jewish exclusivism, ceased to eat with Gentile Christians, and was the means of leading others, Barnabas among them, into a similar error. Paul publicly rebuked them, and made Peter the object of his special censure: "I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."¹ The author of the Acts does not mention his or any other name as advocating the measure, but only calls them "certain men which came down from Judea."² But Paul, in an epistle, throws very clear light on the whole controversy. His account is his most important historical supplement to the Acts of the Apostles.³

A CRISIS IN THE
APOSTOLIC
CHURCH.

The result of the controversy was an appeal to a general council of the Church in Jerusalem, A. D. 50-52. Peter and Paul and Barnabas went thither in person. Peter, who will ever stand at the threshold of ecclesiastical history as the type of a Church leader ready to be convinced, and as ready to return again to his first principles, now appears as a champion for the liberal position of Paul. He even claimed the honor of being the chosen one of God to declare the Gospel to the Gentiles, and now insists that there be no attempt made to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples of Christ.⁴ Paul, Barnabas, James, and Simeon addressed the council, and the result was that the liberal view prevailed—that no part of the Jewish ceremonial should ever be prescribed as a condition of Gentile membership. Never, in the entire history of the Church, did a general council reach so important and wise a conclusion or one couched in such brief terms. The whole decision is thus tersely stated: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and

THE GENERAL
COUNCIL IN JE-
RUSALEM.

¹ Gal. ii, 11.

² Acts xv, 1.

³ Gal. ii, whole chapter.

⁴ Acts xv, 7-10.

from fornication : from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well."¹

The relation of the Jewish ceremonial to the Christian system was now settled forever. It could come to the surface no more, except as an occasional ground of local controversy in some obscure society. With the settlement of this question Peter became less prominent. We have no detailed account of his later labors. While he retires more and more into the background Paul advances steadily to the front. Peter's name is not even mentioned after the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, while the latter half of the book is almost entirely occupied with a narrative of the experiences

PETER AND
PAUL IN CON-
TRAST.

of Paul. With all the difference of opinion between Peter and Paul, and notwithstanding the strong rebuke of the former by the latter, there was no want of real charity. Peter, in so many respects a representative character in the Church, is in no respect more so than in combining the charity of the Christian with the warmth of the partisan. He does not seem to be jealous of Paul, who now occupies by far the leading place in apostolic labor, but cherishes for him a warm regard. It would seem that he meant to correct a popular impression that there was a difference between them, and hence, at the close of his epistles, he speaks of "our beloved brother Paul."² He admits that Paul wrote "some things hard to be understood," but puts the burden chiefly on the ignorance of his readers and their willfulness in twisting them from their true meaning.³

We have no account of Peter's later field of labor. The super-

¹ Acts xv, 28, 29. The Didache (chap. vi) repeats the decree concerning idol offerings, and John evidently considered the finding of the council binding (Rev. ii, 14, 20). Paul takes a view characteristically liberal, placing the whole matter on the basis of expediency (1 Cor. viii, 4-13; x, 18, 19, 28, 29. Compare Rom. xiv, 20, *seq.*) Justin Martyr, c. Tryph., xxxiv, xxxv, Council of Gangra, can. ii, and Ap. Canons, lxiii, understand the Apostolic Council as still binding the Church. This is the view of the Greek Church, but the Roman Church, in this respect following Paul more than Peter, takes the liberal construction. It is evident that the parts of the decree referring to matters of ceremonial or ritualistic importance became of none effect when the circumstances which called for them no longer existed. Whether the same principle applies to Paul's prohibition of woman's activities in the Church it is not the place here to discuss. See Schaff, ed. of Didache, p. 183. The best treatment of these Judaistic conflicts in the early Church is found in Slater, Faith and Life of the Early Church, Lond., 1892; a careful and scholarly work. Farrar gives an illuminating discussion of the Apostolic Council, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. xxii, and Early Days of Christianity, pp. 294-297.

² 2 Peter iii, 15.

³ 2 Peter iii, 16.

scription to his first epistle would lead fairly to the inference that he had labored and founded societies in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The conclusion of the same epistle contains the information that, at the time of writing, he was in Babylon. There was a strong Jewish element in the population there, and up and down the Euphrates, and he was no doubt attracted thither as a promising and needy field of apostolic labor. During the latter part of his life it seems to have been an understood relation between him and Paul that the latter should labor in the West and he in the East.

PETER'S LATER
FIELD UNCER-
TAIN.

The Roman Catholic Church holds the view that Peter was the founder of the Church in Rome, that he established the episcopacy there, that he was bishop in that capital twenty-five years, and that he terminated his primacy by a martyr's death. This is too large a tax on our credulity. The task of weighing probabilities is never easy, and in this case especially difficult. Even the oldest traditions of the Church do not include Peter among the first bishops of Rome, for the earliest list mentions only Linus, Anacletus, and Clement. Jerome is the first to speak of a twenty-five years' episcopate, and from him all the rest have borrowed the myth. From Dionysius of Corinth, writing about A. D. 170, we have the first mention of his death at Rome.

NO CERTAINTY
THAT PETER
FOUNDED THE
CHURCH IN
ROME.

While we are thus left without exact information on the final field of labor by Peter, it is not impossible that he did spend a brief period in Rome, and that he finally suffered martyrdom there in Nero's reign, A. D. 67.¹ We reject totally all legends that raise

¹ Guericke holds, in common with most recent scholars, that Peter died in Rome. But he neither admits any plausibility to a Roman episcopate nor a long residence. *Church Hist.*, vol. i, p. 53. Niedner has a similar view: *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengesch.*, pp. 116, 117. Kurtz (10th ed., 1890) admits the Roman martyrdom as very probable, though not certain. Neander, Hilgenfeld, Rothe, Thiersch, Plumptre, Schaaff, and most Protestant scholars hold the affirmative of this question, to which they are bound by the uncontradicted testimony of the primitive Church. Renan in his *Appendix to The Antichrist* has a valuable note affirming the same view. Volkmar, Zeller, Baur, and some others deny the correctness of the tradition. Gallagher has revived the controversy in his book, *Was Peter Ever at Rome?* (N. Y., 1894) answering the question in the negative, but he adds nothing new to the argument. The Abbé Fouard in his great work on Peter adheres to his Roman episcopate, though with several liberal admissions (Lond. and N. Y., 1893). Ernest de Bunsen contends for Peter's residence in Rome, A. D. 41-44, and he makes out a fairly good case. See his article in the *Unitarian Review*, Jan., 1891, pp. 12-17. It was during the time of Herod Agrippa's reign of terror and of Paul's retirement to Arabia.

him to ecclesiastical primacy in Rome, either for one day or twenty-five years, and the total silence of the Acts of the Apostles, of Paul's epistles, and of his own, is ample proof that he could not have been there long enough to constitute an influential factor in the development of the Roman society.

II. PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

Paul, in the belief and veneration of the Church, occupies the first rank among apostles in talents, varied and broad culture, and sublime consecration. His first home and associations fitted him specially for his later universal character as an apostle to the nations. Tarsus was an important city, the scene of more than one turning point in Eastern and Western history, and the seat of a celebrated university. This school, according to Strabo,¹ was the most advanced in the Roman empire, even excelling those of Alexandria and Athens. Learned men from Tarsus were chosen tutors for the imperial family, and the literary productions of that city were read with avidity in Rome. Paul's first training was in that romantic and historical place, and there his genius first began to develop. His skillful use of the Greek language, with all its charm of imagery and subtle force as the vehicle for his thoughts, and his familiarity with the Greek poets, as exhibited in his address on the Areopagus at Athens, are proofs of the classic atmosphere which he breathed in Tarsus in his youth. The poet, therefore, is not without justification in attributing to the classic associations of Tarsus a strong and permanent influence on the mind of Paul:

"In Cydnus' clear but chilly wave
His weary limbs was wont to lave
Great Philip's greater son—
By Egypt's queen on Cydnus' tide,
The Roman, proof 'gainst all beside,
By beauty's smile was won.
But now, I ween, in Christian lays
Hath Cydnus earned a holier praise.

"Where Tarsus, girt with greenest trees,
Her image fair reflected sees
In that fast-flowing stream—
In childhood's hour was wont to stray,
Poring upon the classic lay,
Or lost in heavenly dream—

¹ xiv, 673.

He who should carry far and wide
The banner of the Crucified."

But Paul was a Jew, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and when a youth his culture was not regarded as complete, or even safe, without a period of study at the fountain head of his faith, Jerusalem.¹ Having a sister there who had married and established her home there, Paul went thither and became a student at the feet of Gamaliel, the most celebrated preceptor of Jewish theology. His residence in Jerusalem could not have been less than twenty-five years.

PAUL IN JERUSALEM.

Paul thus combined in his person many remarkable characteristics of the oriental and occidental, while his attainments fitted him equally well for public labors in either the Jewish or the Græco-Latin world. His conversion near Damascus was the beginning of his Christian life. He had been present at the death of Stephen, and held the loose clothing of the protomartyr's murderers while they performed their cruel deed. The opinion prevailed in the early Church, and was clothed in terse language by Augustine, that there, by the prayer of Stephen, the first impulse toward his conversion was given: "If Stephen had not prayed, the Church would never have had its Paul."² After an interval of three years he returned to Jerusalem, where Barnabas introduced him to the apostles. He recognized clearly that his mission was to the nations lying west of Palestine, and he entered zealously upon his work of Western evangelization.

PAUL'S TRAINING FITTED HIM FOR A COSMOPOLITAN MISSION.

Paul made four missionary journeys. His first tour was begun A. D. 49 or 50.³ Accompanied by Barnabas and John Mark he sailed from Seleucia to Cyprus. He traveled through the island and then proceeded to the mainland of Asia Minor. He visited Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, and afterward retraced his pathway, arriving at Antioch in Syria. His second tour began A. D. 51. He went through Syria, then northwestward to Cilicia, and afterward to Phrygia and Galatia. Following the

PAUL'S FIRST TWO MISSIONARY JOURNEYS.

¹ The best treatment of the relative influence exercised upon Paul by his pagan and Jewish training is found in Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, chap. i-iii. Farrar is correct in his conclusion that the Tarsian influence was slight. It was real, but was overborne by his later education.

² Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet. Serm. i and iv in fest. S. Steph.

³ The dates are uncertain. Lewin gives A. D. 45-46 for the first missionary journey, 49 for the second, 54-58 for the third, and 60 for the voyage to Rome. Conybeare and Howson give 48-49, 51, 54-58, and 60 respectively.

direction that came to him in a vision he sailed for Macedonia, and began his ministry in Philippi. He journeyed through Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth. From Corinth, where he remained fifteen months, he proceeded by way of Cenchræa to Ephesus. He then proceeded to Jerusalem, whence he returned to Antioch.

Paul's third journey began A. D. 54. He visited the churches in Galatia and Phrygia; thence proceeded to Ephesus; then labored in Macedonia and Illyricum, and, departing from Philippi, joined his companions at Troas. He then went by way of Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Trogyllium to Miletus, and
THIRD JOURNEY. proceeded by way of Coos, Rhodes, Patara, Cyprus, Tyre, Ptolemais, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. He was arrested in Jerusalem and sent to Cæsarea, where he defended himself before Felix. He was two years a prisoner in Cæsarea. Felix being superseded by Festus as procurator and representative of Roman authority, Paul appealed to Cæsar. He started for Rome as a prisoner, in charge of the centurion Julius. At Myra he was transferred to a ship from Alexandria, and was wrecked at the island of Malta. After remaining there three months he again set sail for Rome, landing at Puteoli, and, proceeding over the Pontine Marshes, passing Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, he reached Rome. He remained there two years, A. D. 61-63, and was then set at liberty.

Paul's fourth tour occurred after his release from prison, and, according to the most reasonable supposition, embraced a visit to Crete, Macedonia, Corinth, and a winter at Nicopolis. It was
FOURTH JOURNEY. during this time that he went through Dalmatia, and afterward reached Asia Minor.¹ He was again arrested and brought to Rome as a prisoner. He suffered martyrdom there during Nero's reign, about A. D. 66 or 67.

Paul always appealed to the Jews first, but on being rejected by them he immediately turned to the non-Jewish people in the path

¹ For an interesting discussion as to whether Paul visited Spain after his first captivity in Rome, and as to a second captivity, see Kurtz, *Handb. d. allg. Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i, pp. 71-73, note, Eng. Tr., i, 43, 44. Eusebius (H. E., ii, 22) is the only early writer who mentions Paul's release from imprisonment, but he is apparently unconscious of any other tradition. Jerome (De Vir. Ill. v) follows Eusebius. Modern scholars are divided. The most of those who hold to the genuineness of the Epistles to Timothy hold also the second imprisonment. There seems in fact no sufficient reason whatever to call in question the testimony of Eusebius. See McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 124, note 6; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, i, 331-333; Farrar, *St. Paul, Excurs.* xxi and xxvii.

of his labors. His career stands alone in the annals of mankind. His disregard of difficulties; his perfect indifference to personal danger; his peculiar combination of the best culture of the pagan mind and of Jewish theology; his strange insight into the heart; his preaching, pointed, terse, and of great scope, and his wonderful epistles, which have furnished a theology for all Christian ages, give him a supreme place among men. His great peculiarity as a teacher was the directness with which he received and imparted the truth revealed to him from God. Hagenbach thus defines it: "It was not the fruit of laborious combinations, and still less of the mere impression made by others, but an immediate perception and grasping of the truth revealed to him by our Lord and his Spirit."¹

PAUL'S EXTRAORDINARY GIFTS.

With Paul's career as an apostle, both as a preacher and writer, Christianity first assumed a universal character. When his labors were over, the religion which he preached was no longer a limited system confined by Jewish conditions, but had acquired such a relation toward the world that its final triumph over the opposing faiths was only a question of years. He never doubted the issue. At no time, even amid great personal danger, had he any misgivings as to the success of the Gospel. He was often disappointed in his plans, and it would seem that much of his time was lost through imprisonment, the tediousness of his journeys, and his need to earn the means for his support by manual labor. Yet he never murmured at his lot, but was content with his environment. Fully conscious of the lofty place which had been assigned him in the ministry his humility was equal to his spiritual rank. All his genius and learning he counted as nothing compared with the excellency of the knowledge of Christ.²

PAUL'S APOSTOLIC CAREER.

III. JOHN AND THE RECONCILIATION.

Peter, by his strong Hebrew attachments representing that element in the apostolic Church, and Paul the spirit of aggressive and universal Christianity, it was John's mission to harmonize the divergent elements. For this purpose he was preeminently fitted by his equable and tolerant nature, by his near relations to our Lord, and by his long life, which closed A. D. 101. According to the general belief of the early Church

JOHN THE APOSTLE OF HARMONY.

¹ Kirchengesch. der erst. sechs Jahrhunderte, p. 83.

² There is an immense literature on the Life and Epistles of St. Paul. The three great English lives are by Lewin, 1851, new ed., 1874; Conybeare and Howson, 1852, often reprinted (buy only the unabridged author's edition); and

his death, like his own nature, was peaceful ; of all the apostles he was the only one who was believed not to have suffered martyrdom.

In some respects John's life presents more attractive features than that of any of his associates. It was a romance of love, spiritual beauty, and holy calm. As he was the most intimate friend of our Lord during his public ministry, so his writings touch the divine character and relations more intimately than those of any other inspired writer. Of all the evangelists he was

JOHN'S

WRITINGS.

the only one who wrote a gospel in an apologetic sense, recognizing and expounding the divine Logos in answer to the objections current during the last quarter of the first century. His epistles, not like those of Paul, which aimed at instruction, breathed only love and united the still incongruous societies by their sublime tenderness and the remarkable example of their aged author. His Apocalypse accomplished the hitherto untouched purpose in the Bible, namely, in an age of violent persecution it directed the thought and faith of the Church to the rest and the home of all who "endured as seeing him who is invisible." It was, therefore, not without propriety that the early Christian writers represented John, the sole survivor of the apostolic group, as supplying in his writings what the rest had omitted, and, under the symbol of an eagle soaring above the ordinary level of human life and aspiration. Adam of St. Victor, who died in the twelfth century, thus pictured him :

"Bird of God ! with boundless flight,
Soaring far above the height
Of the bard or prophet old ;
Truth fulfilled or truth to be,
Never purer mystery
Did a purer tongue unfold."¹

Farrar, 1879. These are all monumental works. Farrar's, fully equal to the others in scholarship, is superior to them for its eloquence, insight, fresh and penetrating views, and its fuller discussion of matters of more important and enduring interest. Buy only the two vol. edition. There are excellent short lives by Stalker, 1884, and Iverach, 1891. Schrader, Neander (in *Planting and Training*), Baur, Hausrath, Trip, Burgener, Renan, and Krenkel have treated the apostle from their various standpoints. Compare the article by Hatch in the *Encyclopædia Brit.*, that by Schmidt in Herzog and Plitt, that by Bey-schlag in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, and that by Farrar in the new ed. of *Chambers' Encyclopædia* (1892). See also works of Ramsay as above, p. 60.

¹ "Volat avis sine meta
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius :
Tam implenda, quam impleta,
Nunquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius."

When Leonardo da Vinci, in his immortal fresco of the Last Supper, portrayed on the convent wall in Milan the beloved disciple as leaning over nearest the Master, he embodied the sentiment of the Church in all ages concerning both the life which John led and the confidential office which it was his destiny to fulfill. So, when amid the great tragedy of the Passion, Christ committed his mother to the keeping of the disciple whom he most deeply loved, he merely expressed his trustfulness in the only one who had never, by any shade of conduct, betrayed him. To others he might intrust the gravest evangelistic duties, but it was only to John that he was willing to commit the delicate charge of caring for his mother. We may well suppose that John never forgot this final command. It was believed in the early Church that Mary reached an advanced age, and accompanied John to Ephesus, where she died. But, apart from the legend, we can well believe that John's care of Mary was the most precious charge of his life. May it not have been the case that, when he wrote his gospel, he was aided not only by his own personal recollection, but by the memories of Mary herself? Many portions of his gospel exhibit very decided traces of conversations with the mother of Jesus.

JOHN'S CARE
OF MARY.

There is a little nook in the northwest corner of the Sea of Galilee which is called by the present Arab population Tabighah. The rank vegetation indicates great fertility of soil. There is a profusion of fountains, pools, and remains of old aqueducts. According to Robinson, Macdonald, and Porter this is the site of the Bethsaida which, more likely than Capernaum, was the first home of John. It means "The House of Fish," and was one of the chief fishing towns of the shore of the Sea of Galilee. It is reached by a ride of forty minutes from Tell Hum, the ancient Capernaum, and that again is but a short distance from the Chorazin of the New Testament. John's father, Zebedee, and his mother, Salome, belonged to the well-to-do class; for, while Zebedee had a trade, as was the case with all Jews, he had hired servants,¹ and a business partner.² His wife Salome supported our Lord from her means,³ and embalmed his body, while her son John, as we learn from his gospel,⁴ owned a property.⁵

JOHN'S
BIRTHPLACE.¹ Mark i, 20.² Luke vi, 20.³ Luke viii, 3.⁴ John xix, 27.⁵ See Schaff's ed. of Lange's John, p. 4.

One, in reading of this marvelous Sea of Galilee and the associations connected with it, naturally magnifies the distances. The fact is that the traveler can easily go, in a morning ride, from one end of the lake to the other. It is only fourteen miles long and about one half as wide. One skirts the western shore of the lake, through a thick growth of reeds and oleanders, and in a few hours passes the squalid villages that mark the sites of all those towns along the shore which are forever associated with the labors of our Lord and his disciples. But there was a busy population about this historical little lake. On one of the hills overlooking it the Master fed the multitude more than once. From the little territory of Galilee, Josephus raised, in a few days, an army of one hundred thousand soldiers to resist the Romans. The throngs were about Jesus constantly, bringing their sick to be healed and listening to his words of life. But still this Galilean population was an inland and provincial mass, and took no active part in the world's great movement and thought.

Amid rare natural beauty John grew from infancy to maturity. His life here was, perhaps, only broken by the annual visit to Jerusalem. All the male Jews, after reaching the age of twelve, visited Jerusalem once a year. They descended the valley of the Jordan to escape crossing the odious Samaritan soil, and took the road from Jericho to Jerusalem. The visits produced upon John's mind a profound impression. At the very time when he made his first visit there was studying in Jerusalem the youth Saul, from Asia Minor, who was destined to exert upon the Church a more profound impression than any other man in history. It is not likely that the two met among the throng of the city, but they were both led by a hand they knew not to be participants, in mature life, in the sublime work of apostleship for Christ.

After John's call to be a disciple of our Lord he was his constant attendant along the shore of the Sea of Galilee and over these overhanging mountains. No doubt his mind went back with interest to these first experiences. He knew all the paths of the surrounding country and the habits of the people. In his latest life, when leaning upon his staff in far-off Ephesus, he never forgot his home in Bethsaida. The words which he speaks in his gospel concerning Christ's ministrations in that region show how exact was his recollection of his own first home. After the ascension of Jesus, and the subsequent descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, John lived in Jerusalem for many years. He was im-

prisoned several times in Jerusalem, but always came out of his dungeon with increased power and patience as an apostle. He was regarded as the chief representative of the now risen Lord. He had never, like Peter, denied his Master, nor, like Thomas, doubted his resurrection. As occasion demanded he left the city for special evangelistic services. For example, when Philip preached in Samaria, and the whole population were ready to accept his message, he needed help to complete his work. So John and Peter went at once to reinforce him. Indeed, John seems to have now leaned on Peter as his companion and trusted friend. They preached together, traveled together, and communed in sweet fellowship. The impulsive and heroic Peter was a fit companion for the patient and deep-seeing John.

The meeting of the apostolic council occurred A. D. 50, or about twenty years after our Lord's ascension. We now lose trace of John for a period of nearly twenty more years. He disappears so entirely from sight that we are left to depend altogether on a comparison of historical events in order to locate the probable scene of his labors and his reappearance in the history of the Church. When Paul's last visit to Jerusalem occurred, A. D. 59 or 60, John was not present. Where was he? Some conjecture that he was in Peræa, making arrangements for the settlement there of the Christians from Jerusalem when driven out by the persecution, which his prophetic sight anticipated. This is the view of Schaff, who says: "Pella (in Peræa), therefore, formed the natural bridge for the apostle from Jerusalem to Ephesus, and probably he did not leave the congregation at Pella to pass to Asia Minor until it was firmly established."¹ We know that the remaining portion of his life was divided between exile on Patmos and quiet residence in Ephesus. But where did he spend the unknown interval between A. D. 50 and about A. D. 68 or 70? The most probable scene of his labors was in Parthia and the northern valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. One ground for this supposition is that this is known to be the scene of Peter's labors, and, as we find Peter and John to be associated in Jerusalem and Samaria, and in the general direction of the Palestinian Church, we have reason to suppose that they extended their joint field to Parthia and the great valley of which Babylon formed the commercial and literary center.

Josephus informs us that the Jewish element was very large in the population of Babylon. This would be the first class to which

¹ In Lange, on John's Gospel, p. 10.

the two apostles would make their appeal. But a still stronger ground was the impression in the early Church that John had labored in this region. Augustine (A. D. 398) quotes from the First Epistle of John, which he introduces by this expression: "Which is said by John in the Epistle to the Parthians."¹ An argu-

JOHN PROBABLY IN BABYLON.

ment in favor of this Eastern home of John has been found in the resemblance between the visions in the Apocalypse and the visions of Ezekiel's prophecies. John's residence here would lead to a reperusal, not only of Ezekiel's visions, but of all the visions of the illustrious line of Israel's captive prophets. This examination would naturally affect his authorship and prophetic states.

The Jewish people were restless under the Roman yoke, and the Christians received no support from either the Jews or the Romans. In fact, they were the common object of hostility from both quarters. The Jews attributed to them all the calamities that had befallen their country and their beloved Jerusalem. So they persecuted them with all the bitterness of pagans. The Herodian family was dying out through sheer moral exhaustion, and the Roman governors were rapacious and cruel. The people rose in one great body against the Roman rule, and, in order to suppress the revolt, Nero sent Vespasian, A. D. 67, with an army of sixty thousand. Shortly afterward Nero died, and Vespasian was proclaimed emperor. His son, Titus, took charge of the army, conquered the Jews, put them to death without mercy, and entirely destroyed the city of Jerusalem A. D. 70.

JOHN A FUGITIVE.

The Christians shared in the universal massacre. Many of them fled to Pella, in Peræa, east of the Jordan, but many escaped to Asia Minor and other western regions. John, having finished his labors in the East, was one of the fugitives to the West. We find him next in Ephesus.

Ephesus became his last permanent home.² For about thirty years, or until John's supposed death—which, according to Irenæus, was after the year A. D. 98; according to Jerome, when he was one

¹ Quo dictum est ab Joanne in Epistola ad Parthos. Quæst. Evang., c. xix.

² Some, in the interest of a denial of the authenticity of the fourth gospel, have tried to keep John out of Asia entirely. See Keim, *Jesu v. Nazara*, i. 161, ff., Holtzmann, *Bibel-Lex.*, s. v., Scholten, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, ii, 410. But here the tradition is absolutely unbroken, and there is no reason whatever to doubt it. All that we can say is that John did not arrive in Asia until after Paul had left it, and, as Professor McGiffert says, this is what we would naturally expect (ed. Eusebius, p. 132, note 6). See Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.*, iii, 1; Clem. Alex., *Quis dives Salvetur*: c. 42; Polycrates in Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 31, and v, 24.

hundred years old; and, according to Suidas, when he was one hundred and twenty years old—Ephesus was his principal home. He here had a sort of superintendence over all the churches of Asia Minor, if not of Corinth and other places in Greece. During his stay in Ephesus the persecution under Nero¹ broke out. John suffered with the rest and was banished to the island of Patmos. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, John spent fifteen years on this rocky and barren island, and according to another authority he was allowed to return the year after his banishment. It is about fifteen miles in circumference, and lonely and desolate in the extreme. Here, according to Irenæus, he had the visions recorded in the Book of Revelation. Indeed, John says the same substantially himself. “I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.”² No exile ever had a more lonely home than John had here. Years passed by, and only after the death of the emperor, according to a statement of Clement of Alexandria, was he permitted to return to Ephesus. He probably had little or no communication with the Christians in the great world, both east and west. He was alone with God and his own thoughts. That he had spent a number of years in Ephesus, and at least time enough to travel through parts of Asia Minor, and inspect the seven churches, is clear enough from the epistles to them in Revelation. The *Chronicon Paschale* says he had been nine years in Ephesus before banishment.

EPHESUS
JOHN'S LAST
HOME.

JOHN IN PAT-
MOS.

When John returned to Ephesus he had much to do to encourage the persecuted Christians. They had been scattered and despond-

¹ It was the general opinion, following ancient tradition (Eusebius, H. E., iii, 17, 18; Irenæus, Adv. Hær., v, 30, 3; Jerome, De Vir. Illust., 9), that the banishment of John took place under Domitian. But more thorough study of the Apocalypse has convinced most recent scholars that that book must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. This opinion we have followed above. There is, too, some external evidence for this. The title of the Syriac Version of the Apocalypse affirms it. Clement of Alexandria and Origen do not mention the name of the emperor. Epiphanius (Hær., li, 23) makes the banishment as early as Claudius, A. D. 41–53, which, of course, is impossible. The Irenæus tradition is too late to be authoritative, if otherwise discredited. Schaff (in his last edition), Lightfoot, Westcott, Renan, Weiss, Lücke, De Wette, Baur, Neander, and many other scholars hold to the early date. The celebrated pamphlet of Vischer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes, eine jüdische Apocalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung* (1886), makes for the same opinion. Vischer's theory of the Apocalypse cannot be accepted, but he strongly reinforces our judgment as to the early date of that writing.

² Rev. i, 9.

ing. The faith of many had grown cold. His first work was reorganization. We can, in imagination, see this aged apostle moving slowly along the streets, dwelling in thought upon the days when he was walking close beside his Master, but still intent on the service of the same Master. He gathered the Christians together, talked with them of their sorrows, and pointed them to their future liberties. Idolatry was all about him. It was before all eyes and in all homes. The worship of Diana had derived a new impulse from the persecution of the Christians, so that the city was given up to a more gross idolatry than ever before. Pagan learning was cultivated to a high degree. But John was patient, loving, and trustful. He had foreseen the downfall of paganism and of all its splendid worship and temples. He could afford to wait. He made such tours of inspection among the suburban and more remote societies as his many years permitted, preaching love and faith by his own sublime example. He was himself a living proof of how beautiful a thing old age is to the Christian. Tradition says that when he could no longer move about with his own strength he was borne into the sanctuary, where he could only say, "Little children, love one another."¹ What is more likely than that the evangel of love, which he had written and lived in his long life, should also be the evangel of his last years and his death? The eagle was weary with many a flight. The final flight was to the city of the great King—the New Jerusalem of his own beatific vision.²

IV. THE REMAINING APOSTLES.

Of the remaining apostles there are reliable traditions of the scenes of labor and places of death of only a few. For nearly all we know of their apostolic career, apart from the mere indications in the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles, we are dependent on the records preserved by Hegesippus, Eusebius, and Nicephorus, who were careful in sifting the traditions, and reported only the most probable. James, the brother of John, commonly called the Elder, early suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem—about A. D. 44—by the command of Herod.³ James, the brother

JAMES THE
ELDER.

¹ Jerome, in Gal. vi.

² On the apostle John, besides the Dictionaries and Introductions to the Commentaries, see Trench, *Life and Character of St. John*, Lond., 1850; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 231-281; Krenkel, *D. Apostel Johannes*, Leipz., 1871; Macdonald, *Life and Writings of St. John*, N. Y., 1877; new ed., 1880; Niese, *Das Leben d. heil. Johannes*, Leipz., 1878.

³ Acts xii, 1, 2.

of our Lord,¹ wrought a long time in Jerusalem. His labors seem to have been confined entirely to that city and its vicinity. Notwithstanding his relationship to Jesus he was held in high esteem by the Jews on account of his strict adherence to the law, and was called by them the Just. After the departure of Peter and John he was the leader of the Jerusalem Church. Immediately before the outbreak of the Jewish war, however, he, in common with all the Christians in the city, incurred their hostility. It is alleged, and was believed by the early Church, that he was commanded to ascend one of the battlements and publicly renounce his faith in Christ; that he ascended the place, and publicly declared his faith in Christ; that the multitude cast him down headlong, and that he was killed by a blow from a club in the hand of one of the infuriated mob.² Philip, according to Polycrates of Ephesus, who wrote about A. D. 190, chose Phrygia as his field of labor, and spent the latter portion of his life at Hierapolis.³ The early

JAMES, THE
BROTHER OF
OUR LORD.

PHILIP.

historians among the Fathers say that Simon Zelotes chose Egypt, the Cyrenaica, Mauritania, and Libya as his field of labor; that Matthew labored in Persia; that Andrew chose Scythia, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece; that Matthias labored and suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia; that Judas, called Lebbæus and Thaddæus, made Persia his field of work, and that Bartholomew preached in Lycaonia, Armenia, and India.

Concerning the later life and labors of Thomas there is a variety of opinions. There is general unanimity as to his having labored for a time in Persia, then comprised in the vast Parthian empire, which extended from the western bounds of Armenia to the mountain sources of the Oxus and Indus, in the heart of India.⁴ There is strong ground for believing that, after laboring for a while in Persia, he went to India, and spent the remainder of his life there. There were many Persian colonists in India. According to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the sixth century concerning the old Syrian Church in Malabar, the colonists in Ceylon were Persian Christians. There is a large body

THOMAS.

¹ Gal. i, 19.

² Eusebius, H. E., ii, 23. Josephus (Ant., xx, 9, 1) says that he was stoned to death under the high priest Ananus, A. D. 62.

³ Eusebius, H. E., iii, 31; v, 24. It is likely that Polycrates confounded the apostle Philip with the evangelist Philip (Acts xxi, 8, 9). His mention of the virgin daughters makes this quite certain. See McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 162, notes 6, 8.

⁴ Compare Rawlinson, Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy. Map, pp. 78, 79.

of Christians, whom the missionaries of this century find in India, and who bear the name of Thomas Christians, and claim the apostle as the evangelist of the country.

Cranganore is claimed as the place where Thomas landed from Aden, in Arabia. In the early part of this century it was the seat of an archbishopric, including forty-five churches. Near by is Parvor, where a very ancient Syrian church, supposed to be the oldest in Malabar, bears the name of Thomas.¹ There are grounds for supposing that the Thomas Christians derived their name from others than the apostle. One is, that a Persian disciple of Manes, named Thomas, went to India, and became the founder of the Church there.² Another is, that an Armenian merchant, named Thomas Kana, went to India about A. D. 800. and that his descendants became the Thomas Christians.³ There are strong reasons

GROUNDS FOR
 BELIEF THAT
 THOMAS LA-
 BORED IN IN-
 DIA.

both for and against Thomas having labored in India. Von Bohlen disputes it,⁴ and Hoffmann draws a cautious distinction between the early planting of the Gospel in India and Thomas having been the agent of it.⁵ The

Persian Christians claim their country as his sole field of labor, and profess to show his relics in Edessa, the alleged place of his burial; while the Thomas Christians of India show his grave at Meliapoer.

PRESUMPTION
 IN FAVOR OF
 PERSIA AND
 INDIA.

The weight of evidence is in favor of his having first labored in Persia and then proceeded to India, and spent the remainder of his life there. For the apostolic origin of Indian Christianity we have the testimony of Pantænus (A. D. 190),⁶ and for the tradition which assigns Thomas the honor we have the testimony of the Acts of Thomas (about A. D. 195), Bishop Dorotheus (born A. D. 254),⁷ Gregory Nazianzen,⁸ St. Jerome,⁹ Theodoret,¹⁰ Gregory of Tours,¹¹ and Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is the universal belief of the Syrians, Arabs, and Armenians, and is combined even with the geography of the country.

Professor H. H. Wilson indorsed the tradition.¹² while Dr. Buch-

¹ Buchanan, *Researches in Asia*, pp. 74, 75. Phil., ed. 1813.

² Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.*, i, 26.

³ Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, i, 178.

⁴ *Indien*, vol. i, p. 375, ff.

⁵ *Die Epochen der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 7.

⁶ Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 10.

⁷ *In Paschal Chronicle*.

⁸ *Orat.* 25, c. Arian.

⁹ *Cat. Ser. Eccl.*, i, 120, Ep. lix, ad Marcellam.

¹⁰ *Serm.* ix.

¹¹ See Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 293.

¹² *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, i, 161.

anan went so far as to say, "We have as good an authority for believing that the apostle Thomas died in India as that the apostle Peter died at Rome."¹

¹Christian Researches in India, 5th ed., p. 134. The Rev. Charles Egbert Kennet, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, investigated the matter thoroughly. See his *St. Thomas, The Apostle of India*, Madras, 1882; 2d ed., 1892. The Mozaritic Breviary declares the same belief. Scholars generally, however, have rejected the tradition. Among these the latest is George Milne Rae, who devotes several chapters of his admirable work, *The Syrian Church in India* (Edinb., 1892), to a consideration of the early religious history of India. Compare my *Indika*, N. Y., 1891, pp. 309-312. The early traditions are so variant that little value can be attached to them. See Lipsius, in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i, 23.

LITERATURE: THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

We give here a list of some of the recent discussions. See above, p. 58-60.

1. Lightfoot, J. B. *The Christian Ministry*, in *Comm. on Philippians*. Lond., 1868, 7th ed., 1883. Reprinted in *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*. Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 135-246. Sober, objective, a model exposition. The best single discussion.
2. Haddon, A. W. *Apostolical Succession*, Lond., 1869. This is the most brilliant and scholarly defense ever made by the High Church party.
3. Jacob, G. A. *Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament*, N. Y., 1872, ably sets forth the scriptural and other aspects in the interests of the Low Church view.
4. Hatch, E. *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*. Bampton Lectures for 1880. Lond., 1880, 3d ed., revised, 1888. *Growth of Church Institutions*, Lond. and N. Y., 1897. Hatch reopens all questions of Church polity. He shows the influence of secular organizations in the early Church, and how the Church officers were anticipated in the voluntary societies and guilds of the Hellenic world. He shows, also, how great a part the distribution of charitable funds had in the growth of the episcopate and diaconate. His work created a storm in the High Church camp, and has often been replied to; but its facts, and many of its inductions, stand.
5. Rothe, R. *Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche u. ihrer Verfassung*, Wittenb., 1837. An epoch-making work.
6. Ritschl, A. *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2d ed., revised, Bonn, 1857. Of great importance.
7. Stanley, A. P. *The Clergy: in Christian Institutions*, Lond. and N. Y., 1881, chap. x.
8. Harnack, A. In his translation, with notes and discussion, of Hatch, Leipz., 1883, in his ed. of the *Didache*, and in his *Dogmengeschichte*. Harnack has entered largely into these matters. He holds that the prophets and teachers, called of God, were the primitive clergy, and that the bishops and presbyters were the executive officers of the local church.
9. Kühl, E. *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, Berl., 1885. An able work. Agrees with Hatch and Harnack in some respects. He claims, with them, that Church polity was a growth to meet a felt need, but rejects their theory of the development of the episcopate out of preexisting conditions.
10. Müller, J. *Die Verfassung der christlichen Kirche in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten*, Leipz., 1885.
11. Winterstein. *Der Episkopat in den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Vienna, 1886.
12. Cunningham, J. *Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions*, Lond. and N. Y., 1886. (The Croall Lectures.) One of the best books on the subject.

13. Seufert. Der Ursprung u. d. Bedeutung des Apostolats in der christlichen Kirche der ersten zwei Jahrhunderten, Leipz., 1887. He holds that the apostolate was founded in the apostolic age, as an endeavor to get rid of Paul and his free Gospel. A far-fetched idea.
14. Seyerlen, K. R. Die Entstehung des Episkopats in der christlichen Kirche, in Zeitschrift f. prak. Theologie. Frankf., 1887. A reasonable and well-ordered view, illuminating, and somewhat after Lightfoot's thought.
15. Scott, H. M. Recent Investigation into the Organization of the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Churches, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April and July, 1887.
16. The Expositor, London, 3d series, vols. v and vi, 1887, with supplementary article (by Sanday) on A Step in Advance in Early Church Organization, in 1888, pp. 325, ff. A series of articles by some of the best English and German scholars.
17. Weingarten, H. Zeittafeln und Ueberliche zur Kirchengeschichte, 4th ed., greatly improved, Leipz., 1891. Acute and just observations. He shows that imperial development went hand in hand with hierarchical development, and that both had many points in common. His work is of great importance.
18. Loening. Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums, Halle, 1888. Yields large influence to Jewish forms, and is not inclined to attach much influence to heathen societies.
19. Heron, J. The Church of the sub-Apostolic Age, Lond., 1888. Argues vigorously against both Hatch and the High Church theory. Founded on the Didache.
20. Fisher, G. P. The Validity of non-Episcopal Ordination, N. Y., 1888. (The Duddleian Lecture.) New ed., Phil., 1897.
21. Gore, C. The Ministry of the Christian Church, 2d ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1889. One of the best briefs for the High Church claims. In trying to adapt itself to recent scholarship it moves uneasily, making some damaging concessions as well as many unproved assertions.
22. Van Dyke, H. J. The Church: Her Ministry and Sacraments, N. Y., 1890. An able book. Should be read in connection with Haddon and Gore.
23. Lefroy, W. The Christian Ministry, Lond., 1890, and N. Y., 1891. A strong defense of the old Low Church theory as against sacerdotalism on the one hand, and Hatch on the other. An elaborate and finely argued work, with good indexes.
24. Weizsäcker, C. von. The Apostolic Age, trans., Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Writes this part of the history from the point of view, largely, of Hatch and Harnack.
25. Fraser, J. Episcopacy: Historically, Doctrinally, and Legally Considered. Lond., 1893.
26. Griffis, W. E. Validity of Congregational Ordination (Duddleian Lecture), in Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1893.

Although there is now no scholar in the world outside of the Roman Church and the hierarchical party in the Episcopal Church who adheres to the divine right theory of the origin of the episcopate, that theory is still maintained in all its practical force by the Anglican Church, and it is still the great barrier to Christian union. In this connection see the following admirable discussions:

27. Forrester, H. *Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate*, N. Y., 1889. An able historical study to show that the Church Catholic has at various times received men into her ministry without episcopal ordination, such reception giving them "all that would have been given had the usual form been followed."
28. McConnell, S. D. *American Episcopacy*, N. Y., 1889. Handles the matter in a free and excellent spirit.
29. Harwood, E. *The Historic Episcopate*, N. Y., 1889. Has a valuable appendix, tracing the views held in the English Church. These three (above) are pamphlets by ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
30. Gallagher, Mason. *The True Historic Episcopate*, new ed., N. Y., 1893. Specially emphasizes the constitution of the church in Alexandria, and gives *catena* of English testimonials.
31. Long, J. C. *The Historic Episcopate*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1894. A fine article by the late lamented professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary.
32. Bartlett, J. V. *The Historic Episcopate*, in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1894; Aug., 1897.
33. Shields, C. W. *The Historic Episcopate*, N. Y., 1894. A Presbyterian plea for acceptance of the Episcopal proposals for Church union.
34. Cooke, R. J. *The Historic Episcopate*, N. Y., 1896.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

WHEN the converts entered the Christian communion during the apostolic period, they could not be expected to forget their former environment. All the experiences and knowledge which they derived from either the Judaism or the paganism that had produced and reared them were not obliterated during their transition from darkness to noonday. This change was voluntary, conscientious, and fundamental, and the repugnance to the faiths of their former love was intense and final; but the view which they took of the new faith received something of the color of their former associations. Hence the Jew carried unconsciously with him into Christianity a certain subtle attachment to the faith of his fathers, by which he could not forget immediately his love for the holy days and sacred festivities, and distinctions in meats, of which he had read and heard as observed by his immortal fathers in the golden age of the kingdom. Every Jew that sat at the feet of James at Jerusalem or Peter at Antioch reflected the whole national life and faith of his ancestors as far back as the deliverance from Egypt and the Abrahamic call. The attachment to the temple continued after the ascension. Whither should the one hundred and twenty disciples retire, after the ascension from Olivet, but to the upper room of the temple? Even Jesus had given the example of his own respect for the sanctity of the temple, and the Jews did not regard the Christians as an independent body, but only a sect, a *αἵρεσις*, within the large body, just as the Græco-Russian Church regards the Molakans and similar dissidents from the general faith as sects within the large fold.

With the Greek and the Roman the case was different. He saw in his paganism not that clear preparation for Christianity which he could not fail to observe in the Jewish system. He was even more intolerant of his old faith than was the Jewish Christian of his former Judaism. He saw nothing in the worship of Venus on Cyprus, or of Diana at Ephesus, or of Minerva on the Acropolis at Athens, or of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, or in the Sibylline utterances, or the mummeries of the haruspices, which he was willing to see introduced into the Christian

THE JEW AS A
CHRISTIAN.

THE GREEK
AND ROMAN
AS CHRIS-
TIAN.

ritual. Unlike the new Christian at Jerusalem, the pagan Christian had no lingering love for his own temple. To him it was a crystallization of the blasphemies and nameless vices of all the past ages of polytheism. Yet, even with him, the only good forces that paganism had imparted to him went with him into the new Christian life. He was the universal man. He needed no exhortation, as did his Jewish brother Christian, to be cured of his particularism. He was not under the necessity of being taught that God could be worshiped in every place, and that all lands were hallowed ground. The migrations of nations, the fusing of provincial and metropolitan life in the capitals, the ceaseless wandering of the scholars over all paths, and that great republic of letters whose leaders had been born on the Greek islands and the far-off provinces, had given him a breadth of view which he carried with him into Christianity, and by which he was led to believe that, as Alexander and the Cæsars had conquered, so Jesus would conquer, until the world should become his footstool. Then, too, we find that the echoes of the philosophy of his great fathers of thought were still lingering in his ears. It was not a society of men once Jews, but once pagans, namely, that of Corinth, which Paul censured for being carried away by that peculiar preaching of Apollos which reflected the philosophy of the Greek masters.

We find, therefore, in the whole apostolic period a prevalence of these two antithetical tendencies, the Jewish and the pagan. Some critics, who, like Baur, of the Tübingen School, can see in the early Church only a tangled thread of prejudices and ignorant strivings for mastery, hold that the antagonism between the Jewish and pagan points of view, or, rather, the Petrine and the Pauline, brought only disaster to the Church; that it was the ignorance of the Church in its infancy; that it was the gross and wasteful out-

JEWISH AND
PAGAN TEND-
ENCIES.

giving of controversial minds at their whitest heat, the wild play of narrow souls. The truth is to be found far away from this position. The Hebrew and the pagan view lay at extremes. The one was particular and special, the other cosmopolitan. Between these terms lay the golden mean of the correct Christian view of humanity and doctrine. The apostolic Church (and so the Church of all later periods) was not the loser, but greatly the gainer, by having this antithesis presented at the very threshold of its history. The necessity was early thrust upon it to learn to harmonize differences, to see in all thought something that can serve as a lesson, in all regenerate character a measure of good for the whole body ecclesiastic, and to make the whole world, Jewish and pagan, lay at its feet its best lessons in organized activity and administrative force.

The constitution of the Church was only in part a matter of divine direction. The merest outline for ecclesiastical government was revealed, while the general structure was left to the spiritual discernment of the controlling minds, and to such needs as experience might produce and reveal. In constitution the Jewish element predominated, and gave more or less character to the economy of all the churches, while in the conditions of membership and the use of foods and festivals the Gentile prevailed, and finally eliminated the former altogether. "How could the apostles," asks Rothe, "escape adopting, in the most intimate way, even the very form of constitution which they had known in their own mother Church?"¹

All the officers in the apostolic Church are defined by name, and the only difficult question has been, what functions belonged respectively to these officers? The answer has been very varied, some regarding the Church at its beginning as containing all the officers designed for it in all later ages, and others believing them to have been prescribed in only a general way, the Church being left to shape its constitution according to the requirements of nationality, culture, and temperament of the peoples which might become evangelized. Long periods of fruitless controversy, the fatal development of the papal idea, and the figment of apostolical succession and of the episcopacy as a distinct and fixed third order in the Church, have grown out of the same question.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE CHURCH
PARTIALLY RE-
VEALED.

OFFICERS DE-
FINED BY
NAME.

There were five classes of Church officers in the apostolic period.

I. TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

To these belong, first, the apostles. They were a class appointed directly by Christ himself, and a condition of their holding the office was that they must have seen Christ in the flesh, or in his risen state. This, therefore, could not be otherwise than a temporary office. The apostles were charged with the supervision of all the churches, and to their judgment there was always a willing appeal. They were thor-

THE APOSTLES.

¹ *Anfänge d. christl. Kirche*, p. 147. The minuteness of the resemblance between the constitution of the synagogue and the Christian Church was first shown by Grotius, and more fully exhibited by Campegius Vitringa, in his *De Synagoga vetere libri iii*, 4to, Franeker, 1696. Several points are mentioned in Plumptre, art. "Synagogue," in *Smith, Bible Dict.* The statement of Kurtz on this is exaggerated (§ 17, 2). There can be no question whatever that several elements in the polity of the Church were due to the influence of the synagogue worship and other Jewish customs. It could not be otherwise.

oughly aggressive and evangelistic, and regarded it their first duty to preach the Gospel to those in darkness. With the exception of James the Just, who made Jerusalem his home, all the apostles were evangelists, and went abroad preaching Jesus and the resurrection. Some of them, as Paul, John, James, and Peter, were divinely inspired to write, and their writings have formed a necessary doctrinal and spiritual basis for the Church of all ages. Though they labored in separate fields, there was a unity of plan. The apostolic council of Jerusalem gave proof of this harmonious action and of the acknowledged right to decide finally all important questions for the whole Church. It has been a favorite opinion of High Church writers that the bishops were the successors of the apostles. The discovery of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles has changed all this. The name descended to those traveling missionaries who succeeded to the most important apostolic function, and the actual successors of those who, like Barnabas, Luke, Mark, and Apollos, were called apostles in a secondary sense. The bishop received neither the name nor the functions of the apostles; the apostles of the second century inherited both the name and part of the functions.¹

The prophets are second in rank. They were persons inspired by the Holy Ghost for the special work of teaching higher revelations. The power of foretelling events was not their controlling function. It was their office to reveal the will of God when especially needed, as in the choice of persons for great office and service in the Church. The apostles were at the same time prophets, but the prophet was not necessarily an apostle. The apostle Paul, Agabus, Simeon, Barnabas, Manaen, Judas the evangelist, and Silas belonged to the prophetic class.² The prophets persisted into the second century, when they were a most important class of workers. But they sadly degenerated, and rules were laid down to test and govern them. The Montanists tried to revive this miraculous agency, but their attempt proved abortive.³

Third are the evangelists. They were preachers whose ministrations were not confined to special localities, but extended in every direction where it was thought best that the Gospel should

¹ Acts xiv, 4, 14; 1 Thess. ii, 6; Rom. xvi, 7; 1 Cor. xv, 5, 7. Didache, chap. xi. Comp. ed. Schaff, pp. 67-69. Their work is best described by Eusebius, H. E., iii, 37. He distinctly connects them in succession with the apostles. One of the best refutations of the High Church theory is Withrow, Were the Apostles Prelates? in Presb. Rev., April, 1897.

² Acts xiii, 1; xv, 32. ³ See Did., xi, 7-12; xiii.

be preached. They were in close relationship with the apostles, either assisting them immediately or laboring under their direction. They were the apostolic helpers EVANGELISTS. (*συνεργοί*), or, as Rothe calls them, "apostolic delegates."¹ Their labors were largely confined to the introduction of the Gospel, or the preaching of it in new societies, until permanent organization was established. Philip, Timothy, Titus, Silas or Silvanus, Luke, John Mark, Clement, Epaphras, and perhaps Epaphroditus were evangelists. The evangelists were without an analogue in the later Church. Theodoret gave them the title of apostles (*ἀπόστολοι*); "not at all unfitting," says Rothe, "for it was their very object to represent the apostles."² They are not mentioned in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, their place being there taken by the apostles. They have no analogy whatever to the so-called evangelist of the present day, their modern counterpart being the missionary or pioneer preacher.³

II. PERMANENT OFFICERS.

1. *Presbyters or Bishops*.—The presbyter and bishop were identical in order and in the reverence of the Church. The two terms furnish another illustration of that twofold life of the early Church which arose from the twofold origin of the members. The word presbyter is of Jewish origin, while bishop is derived from Greek and Roman usage. Presbyter, or *πρεσβύτερος*, an elder, is an exact translation of the Hebrew word *saken*, which indicated PRESBYTER OR BISHOP. the ruler of the Jewish synagogue in all religious exercises, and who held that office, generally, because of his greater age or more tried character. He might be the oldest man in the society, or he might be a younger member, but, age and wisdom being presumably associated, the official took his name from his years.⁴ In Palestine, and wherever the body of the society had been Jews, the term presbyter, or elder, was used to designate the official head of the Christians of that place. Peter and James, being Palestinian apostles, used only the word *πρεσβύτερος*, and not *ἐπίσκοπος*.

The word bishop is derived from the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*, or overseer, and was applied by the pagan Christians to the individual exercising the same functions. Both the Greeks and Romans

¹ Anfänge d. christl. Kirche, p. 305.

² In Acts xx, comp. ver. 17 with 28; and Titus i, comp. ver. 5 with 7.

³ See Ensebius, H. E., iii, 37; Neander, Planting and Training, ed. Robinson, p. 151, note.

⁴ We have analogies to the word *πρεσβύτερος* in *senator* and *alderman*, both of which words indicate, not the age of the incumbents, but their official dignity. Comp. Bingham, Works, vol. i, p. 250, Lond. ed., 1843.

had been familiar with the term in civil administration. In the
USE OF WORD Athenian constitution there were officers who bore the
BISHOP. name *ἐπίσκοποι*, from their character as supervisors.¹
 Pollux, in his category of archons, names the following: *ἐφορον*,
ἐπόπτην, *ἐπίσκοπον*.² Arcadius Charidius, a Roman jurist, in dis-
 cussing the civil offices, enumerates them as a class presiding over
 the sumptuary affairs of the cities.³ Cicero says that Pompey
 wished him to be an *ἐπίσκοπος*, who should rule over the civil affairs
 of the Campania and the whole seacoast, who should have charge
 of the levying of troops, and be responsible for the principal busi-
 ness.⁴ Nothing was more natural than that the Christians of pagan
 origin, who had been familiar with the word and the functions
 which were represented by it, should apply it to the pastor or ad-
 ministrator of the truth and all clerical functions.⁵

The bishop, or presbyter, was not originally a supervisor over a
 diocese, or a collection of churches, but the teacher, pastor, and
 spiritual head of one church or society. But as the number of
 churches increased, and a bond of unity and supervision
ORIGINAL was needed, one presbyter was appointed for this work.
OFFICE OF THE
BISHOP.

His clerical order remained the same, than which there
 was nothing higher, but his office assumed larger territorial scope.
 His chief work was to preach and teach; but associated with this
 was the duty of reconciling differences, looking after the purity of
 life and doctrine, and promoting harmony of general administration.
 In time the word bishop came to mean more than had ever been
 associated with the term presbyter, but for this there was no scrip-
 tural warrant or apostolic example. It was a matter of policy.

There are two views as to the relation borne by the bishop, or
 presbyter, to the societies. One is that small societies originally
 organized themselves in a community, each independent of all the
 rest, holding their meetings in different places, and
RELATION OF continuing an ecclesiastical life without any common
THE BISHOP TO
THE SOCIETIES. bond of government or relationship, and that after-
 ward, when the need of unity was perceptible, the presbyters of all

¹ Suidas, s. v. *ἐπίσκοπος*, and the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, verse 1023.

² Onomastic., Book viii, let. 8. sec. iv, p. 905, of ed. of Hemsterhuis.

³ *Episcopi, qui presant pani et ceteris venalibus rebus, quæ civitatum popu-
lis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt.* Digest, Book iv. chap. 4, l. 18, par. 7.

⁴ *Valt enim me Pompeius esse quem tota hæc Campania et maritima ora hab-
est ἐπίσκοπον ad quem dilectus et summa negotii referatur. Itaque vaxus esse
cogitabam.* Letter to Atticus, vol. vii, p. 183. Teubner ed., Leipz., 1844.

⁵ Comp. Neander, *Hist. Ch.*, i, p. 184. For full literature of the question as
to identity of the terms *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος*, see Kurtz, *Handb. d. allg.
Kirchengeschichte*, p. 142, ff.

grouped themselves into a local spiritual government for the administration of all the societies.¹ This view, which Neander well calls the "atomic theory," is not sustained by a careful examination of the genesis of the Church as described in the Acts and the Epistles.²

All the Christians of a community, however numerous, originally grouped themselves into one society. They were under one spiritual head, and regarded themselves as forming the ecclesia, or gathering of believers, of that place. There were no spiritual competitions or religious jealousies. Those were the golden days when the success of one was the holy joy of all. All the services could not be held in one place. There were smaller groups of worshippers, in contracted quarters, and for the most part in private houses. But there was no infinitesimal organization. There was one body of believers. The head of this one society was the presbyter. As time advanced, or the members multiplied, the number of societies increased also, and, in the same ratio, the number of presbyters grew. These presbyters, or bishops, constituted a common order and office, and became a general bond, by which the societies of a large community were held together, and, as the Church advanced, by which the societies of contiguous communities and outlying rural regions were kept in organic, effective, aggressive life. The first common bond of ecclesiastical unity was the apostles themselves. They, by their travels, came into frequent personal relationship with the societies. They adopted regulations for the societies.³

All the duties of the presbyter, or bishop, were involved in the obligation "to feed the flock of God, . . . and have oversight thereof."⁴ This involved three functions: First, the supreme duty of preaching the Gospel; second, the administration of the two sacraments; and third, the regulation of discipline, though at the beginning both preaching and administration of the sacraments were the common right of all.

2. *Deacons*.—This is both an order and an office, and the functions of the deacon are more minutely described in the Scriptures than any other officer in the Church.⁵ The diaconate is an illustra-

¹ Kist, the Dutch theologian, advocates this view in the *Archief voor Kerkerlike Geschiedenis*, Deel ii, pp. 1-61, trans. and pub. in *Illgen's Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol.*, vol. ii.

² Comp. Neander, *Gen. Hist. Christ. Rel. and Church*, vol. i, p. 185.

³ Acts ii, 44, 45; iv, 33-37. ⁴ 1 Peter v, 1.

⁵ Acts vi, 1-8; 1 Tim. iii, 8-12. The word was applied in a general sense to all ministers, and even to magistrates (1 Thess. iii, 2; 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. vi, 4; Rom. xiii, 4).

tion of providential guidance in the early Church. When the office was about to be instituted, the ground given was that the apostles might be assisted in the distribution of alms to the poor and care for the sick. They were, therefore, the assistants of the **OFFICE OF THE DEACON.** apostles in providing for the temporal needs of the societies. At first they were seven in number. They derived their authority from the great commonalty of the Church. The apostles called the whole Church together, pointed out the need, told "the multitude of the disciples" to make their own selection, and "the whole multitude" made choice of Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas.¹ In addition to the care of the poor and the sick, the deacons assisted in the administration of the eucharist and preached as they found occasion. "For," asks Rothe beautifully, "how could such men bury their talent of Christian knowledge and perception and bury in their breasts their impulse to testify of the Redeemer?"² The office of deacon was introduced into the Gentile societies of Asia Minor and other countries as the Church expanded. For everywhere there were poor and sick, and there was a prompt recognition of the duty of Christians to provide for them. The prominence of the diaconate in relation to the poor did not cease for a long time, as even Jerome, in the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of them as ministers of the widows and of tables. But with the establishment of hospitals and almshouses this part of their work fell into the background, and they employed themselves in preaching and in the other duties of the pastoral office. This change in the work of the deacon involved no change of office, but the diaconate in the secondary form is that which has taken its permanent place in history and in the constitution of the Church. The diaconate in its original form represents the noblest principle in Christianity—love. The deacons were the constructors of those institutions of relief which have been the glory of religion in all ages. The present time demands a return to the apostolic office of deacon. The Church must take her ancient place as the saviour of the poor. "The deacon must confront the communist along the lanes and hedges."³

3. *Deaconesses.*—This was a special office, the duties of which

¹ Acts vi, 5.

² Anfänge, p. 166.

³ See Plumptre, and especially Schaff, in Smith, Bib. Dict., Am. ed., s. v.; Stanley, Chr. Institutions, pp. 210, 211, Scribner's ed.; Rothe, Anfänge der ch. Kirche, 163, ff.; Geo. S. Mott, in Presb. Rev., July, 1886; Hackett, Com. on Acts, ed. Hovey (Phila., 1882), pp. 85, 86. Many hold that the diaconate did not grow out of the appointment of the seven (Acts vi), but the view given above is much the more probable.

were to care for the sick, the aged, and the female poor, and to instruct the orphans. There are intimations in the Acts of other duties collateral with these, but they are not specifically defined. Christianity found woman neglected and degraded, and it immediately addressed itself to the sublime work of woman's relief by woman herself. The office of the deaconess arose among the pagan Christians. Among the Jewish Christians the women could be preached to by the apostles and evangelists. But among the pagan Christians woman was the slave, and was excluded from society. Grotius thus states the contrast, and the necessity of the female diaconate in the apostolic times, in order to reach the whole population: "In Judæa the men could minister even to women; for there the access to females was freer than in Greece, where the harem was shut against men."¹ Only lately has the Church begun to approach the apostolic method in reaching the women and children of heathen lands by the employment of women, who combine medical skill with spiritual instruction, and are thus, for the first time, bringing the light of the Gospel into the dark homes of unevangelized lands. This zenana work is constantly assuming larger proportions, and will inevitably be a potent factor in the conversion of all peoples to Christianity.²

MODERN RES-
TORATION OF
THE APOSTOLIC
DEACONESS.

These were the supervisory and evangelistic agencies with which the Church began its organized mission among men. In appearance they were feeble in the extreme. There was no large wealth with which to endow them or with which to erect stately churches. It is difficult to tell whence came the means by which the Gospel

¹ Com. on Rom. xvi, 1. "In Judæa diaconi viri etiam mulieribus ministrare poterant; erat enim ibi liberior ad fœminas aditus quam in Græcia, ubi viris clausa γυναικῶν."

² The best study of the early deaconesses is H. E. Jacobs, *The Female Diaconate of the New Testament* (Phila., 1892, p. 47). It is still a question whether there was any such office in the apostolic times. Kurtz, *Church Hist.*, last ed., § 17, 4, gives a new interpretation to the classical passage, Rom. xvi, 1, 2. He thinks it refers to the institution of the patron, which was widely prevalent in ancient times. "Freedmen, foreigners, proletarii, could not in themselves hold property, and had no claim on the protection of the laws, but had to be associated as *Clientes*, with a *Patronus* or *Patrona* (προστάτης and προστάτις), who in difficult circumstances would afford them counsel, protection, support, and defense." The Christians found it necessary to avail themselves of this provision. Phœbe is recommended as faithfully acting her part as a patron even of the apostle himself. Kurtz translates Rom. xii, 8, *προστάτης ἐν σπονῇ*, "Whoever represents anyone as patron, let him do it with diligence." But even if the office of deaconess did not exist in apostolic times in well-developed form, there must have been women then who performed most of its duties. Jacobs, *The Female Diaconate of the New Testament*, pp. 17-20, gives a chain of testimony

was promulgated during its first century. There was no disposition to cluster about great cities, though Paul's invariable method was to begin in the centers of population, and thus secure the radiation of the truth into the surrounding country. There was no partiality for localities. The reverence for specially holy places was a sentiment of later origin. The prospect for success was not flattering, if one might judge by the multi-form antagonism on every side. Over against Christianity was the solid structure of the complete Roman organization. From the Pillars of Hercules in the West to the Parthian empire in the East, and from the North Sea down to the great African desert, the Roman had extended his perfect civil and military systems. He had been a learner from all ages. He had learned that a system was as good as men, but that with both he could carry his eagles to any far-off tribe or kingdom and annex them to his empire. He had seen other faiths arise on every part of his map, and witnessed their decline. He had seen them in Rome, whither all that was beautiful and grotesque alike drifted, and soon they were to be seen no more. He expected the same decline in the new Judaean religion. Its heralds were in Rome, but they, too, he expected, would soon be gone.

There was one thing not known, nor even slightly suspected, by the Roman. He had no knowledge of the spiritual force of Christianity. It was more than a novelty; it was a leaven.

FIRST SUCCESSSES OF THE GOSPEL.

No one could measure the power of the new organization, Christianity adjusted to universal conditions, and making ready for permanent triumphs. Its first successes were in the home, and therefore in the individual life. This was a great blank in paganism, which had its palaces, but not a home. The great proof of this pervasive power of systematic labor was in the firmness and silence with which the Christians met persecution. They could not be moved, but died willingly for their faith. Everywhere these individual Christians felt that they were sustained, not merely by a divine power, but by the sympathy and prayer of the Church everywhere. They felt that they were a part of the great organization,

of great value in favor of the apostolic institution or development of this institute. Women had a wide and useful sphere in the early Church, though except among the Montanists, and that to Tertullian's great disgust (*De Prescrip.*, chap. xli), their activities never included preaching. The widows of 1 Tim. v. 9, 10, are not to be considered as supernumerated deaconesses. Deaconesses are not mentioned in the *Didache*, a significant fact. See Augusti, *Ch. Archaeology*, ii, p. 3; Bennett, *Ch. Archaeology*, p. 368. The old monograph of Ziegler, *De Diaconis et Diaconissis Veteris Ecclesie*, Wittenb., 1678, is full and satisfactory. So also Schaff, in his *Hist. of the Apostolic Church*, p. 535.

which had both life and feeling. They knew they were a part of an ecclesiastical body which would live and develop, and be the refuge, in all coming ages, from the storms of the world. The Lord's house was large, and many lived in it, and they were willing, if the alternative was the renunciation of their faith, to exchange it for the New Jerusalem.¹

We cannot close this discussion of the constitution and organization of the early Church without recognizing the special service of Hatch, who has thrown a flood of new light on this important subject, and caused it to be investigated anew.² His conclusions are substantially as follows :

HATCH'S IM-
PORTANT SERV-
ICE.

1. The poverty of the Roman world and the charity of the Church brought it to pass that the function of the distribution of relief exercised a formative influence on the development of the offices of the Church. Taking for granted the persistence of the synagogue organization at certain places at least, and the original parity of elders and bishops, which latter point, as Hatch well says, "has been removed from the list of disputed questions," the prominence of the bishop or president of the body of elders came about by virtue of his position as chief almoner. It was an administrative and financial necessity. Standing next to him was the deacon, his right-hand man in these distributions.

2. The presbyterate was simply a continuation of the Jewish plan. Among Gentile churches the presence of the presbyter is accounted for by two facts : (1) A government by council or committee was almost universal in all the organizations throughout the Roman world. (2) The name of the office by which the members of such council or committee were designated, implied seniority. "Respect for seniority was preached from the first as an element of Christian order" in the Christian communities themselves.

3. In general, the contemporary institutions and associations of the pagan world offered many parallels to the Church organiza-

¹ Our word church has the Lord's house at root—*kyriakē*. Hence, too, the German *Kirche*, the Scotch *kirk*, Old Saxon *circ*, Swedish *kyrka*, and Danish *kirke*. Comp. Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. i, pp. 29, 30.

² In the preface to *Organization of the Early Christian Church*, Lond., 1881, 3d ed., 1888, the author says that, while denying any intention of finally laying down conclusions in a study "which is only in its infancy," that the discussions to which his lectures gave rise have been around subordinate views, and have not disturbed at all his larger and more important propositions. The book was translated into German, with additions, by Professor Harnack, and all recent continental scholars are inclined to attach importance to the forces which the lamented Hatch was the first to bring before the public in a sympathetic, rational, and thorough presentation.

tion, which latter were necessarily more or less copied or adapted from them.

4. The development of Church polity was natural, by the stress of circumstances and historical necessity, and had no relation whatever to any supposed divine prescription.

These views of Hatch can be accepted with safety. While the great point of originality consists in his emphasis on the influence of charity and of secular societies, his whole treatment is most interesting and suggestive, and is illuminated and strengthened by the most abundant learning. Great effort has been made to overturn his position on the theory of the divine right of the ministry, but in the main he has received the approval of the great body of important scholars. Hatch, more than any recent writer, has imparted an immense impulse to the study of the beginnings of Church polity.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOCTRINAL BASIS AND LITERATURE.

THE absence of the incarnate Teacher made necessary the written truth for the doctrinal instruction and guidance of the future Church. This consisted of two departments: the Hebrew Scriptures, already in use in the synagogue and temple service, and the New Testament writings, which were collected into a complete canon in the period immediately succeeding the apostles. The writings of the Old Testament were recognized by Christ and his apostles as a divine revelation. "At the time when Christ was born," says Reuss, "the synagogue had framed the writings of the prophets and some other books, for the most part of more recent origin, into a collection which, added to the five volumes of the law, formed its canon, the sacred source of its doctrines and laws, of its civil and ecclesiastical code. The people were familiarized with its contents, less by means of private study than by the public readings in the weekly assembly of the community."¹

NECESSITY FOR
THE WRITTEN
TRUTH.

At the beginning of our Lord's ministry he bore witness to the supernatural character of the Old Testament by reading, at his first priestly exercise in Nazareth, Isaiah's remarkable prophecy of his Messiahship and the benign and sacrificial character of his ministry. In his temptation our Lord resisted the adversary by citing from older Scriptures, while throughout his ministry, in his formal discourses and in his conversations with both his friends and enemies, he frequently made such references to the historical, poetical, and prophetic parts of the Hebrew Scriptures as to prove that he had studied them deeply, that he was so familiar with them as to quote their exact language at will, and that he saw their true fulfillment and solution to be in his own person. In the apostolic writings we observe the same familiarity with the Old Testament, an equal acknowledgment of their inspired character, and as firm a reliance upon it as a basis for the entire scriptural canon of the future. The early Church very naturally grew into as firm a belief in the value of the Old Testa-

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

¹ Hist. of Christian Doctrine in the Apostolic Age, vol. i, pp. 351, 352.

ment Scriptures as a rule of faith as was held by our Lord and his apostles. Nor was there any difference as to the Jewish or pagan Christians. Each class was alike tenacious of the necessity and divine inspiration of the Old Testament.

Very early, however, there was manifested a divine plan to continue the inspired record by further writings, which should contain such truth as described the redemption wrought by Christ, the consequent founding of the Church, and the universal propagation of the Gospel. No sooner had our Lord ascended than he chose men, who had been witnesses of his life, to write minute accounts of his life, each being in a sense independent of the other, and each exhibiting such discrepancies, on minor matters, as would prove the absence of coordinate plan. In addition to the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles was committed to writing. It forms the connecting link between our Lord's ministry and the Church in its settled and assured existence. Then came the epistles of Paul, with their twofold character of doctrinal statement and practical guidance; the general epistles, with their treatment of Christians in their relations to one another; and the Book of Revelation, as an encouragement for the Church and the individual believer, in persecution then, and in sorrow in all coming times. All these writings constituted the New Testament, and were at length acknowledged by the Church to be of divine authority, and designed to form and nurture the faith of the Church during its entire future history.

There was no attempt at formulated doctrine. It was not necessary. That is a human and uninspired process which belongs to the later period of diversity and controversy. The words of Jesus and his apostles and evangelists were the sole theological basis for the theology of the first century. As the admonitions of a faithful Christian father comprise the whole round of necessary instruction, and the child is not left to go amiss on any part of its ethical instruction, so the informal teachings of Christ and his apostles embraced the entire cycle of things to be believed and done.

Moreover, there was no doctrinal trend produced by a school or an individual. The supposed variety of stress and tendency, according to the personality of the teacher, is more a theory than a fact. It is not historically accurate to allege that there were three currents of faith in the Church—the Johannine, with the emphasis on the divine Logos; the Petrine, with its prominence to the human Christ as a type of a holy life; and the Pauline, with its exposition of the divine fullness in Christ. Neither is it correct to allege that Paul

NECESSITY FOR
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

NO FORMULATION OF DOCTRINE.

was the teacher of faith, John of love, and Peter of hope.¹ There was no doctrinal bias. Each of those inspired teachers imparted truth, so that it harmoniously blended with the truth declared by all the rest, and in such a way that there was no longer a preponderating individuality in the believer's mind. All the apostles taught faith, hope, and charity. Each did his work, but when the work came to be studied in its separate quality it was found to have united with that of others to form the wonderful harmony of the New Testament. The whole Church had its faith, and that was derived rather from the words of Jesus than from the constructions placed upon them, though inspired, by Paul, or Peter, or John.

ONE UNIVER-
SAL CURRENT
OF FAITH.

The example of the apostles was not supreme. There was beneath it the universal Christian consciousness. "The center of gravity," says Reuss, "of the early Church, and of its spiritual development, did not reside in a few individuals. If the twelve occupied, in consequence of their peculiar relations with the Saviour, a place apart in the midst of this rapidly increasing company of Christians, their influence must still have been counterbalanced by that of others, possessing the advantages they lacked of a systematic and high education. . . . We have no evidence that the apostles exercised over all these men an exclusive ascendancy so strong as to mold them at their will; least of all, have we any proof that they possessed from the outset ideas and views more or less unknown to those around them, and by virtue of which they became the leaders of the thought of their age."²

REUSS ON THE
FAITH OF THE
GENERAL
CHRISTIAN
BODY.

There was, however, all the advantage of a systematic theology, without any of its disadvantages. There was a compactness and a breadth which made that theology of the apostles able at once to reject the overtures of philosophical teachers, and yet to absorb the fruit of the best thought, from whatever quarter, that the age afforded. It was the century of test in doctrinal belief. Had the first two generations of Christian believers failed to discharge their whole duty, first in deriving from the ministry of Christ the wisdom of his doctrine, and the

ADVANTAGE
WITH THE
FORCE OF SYS-
TEMATIC THE-
OLOGY.

¹Comp. Kurtz, *Handbuch der allg. Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i, p. 89 (note); Usteri, *Darstellungen d. paulin. Lehrbegriffs* (Zurich, 1834); Frohmann, *Darstell. d. johan. Lehrbegriffs* (Leipz., 1839); Grimm, *de Johanneæ Christologiæ Indole Paulinæ comparatæ* (Leipz., 1833); Stevens, *The Johannine Theology* (N. Y., 1894); and *The Pauline Theology* (N. Y. 1893); Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity* (N. Y., 1894).

²*Hist. of Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age*, p. 241.

spotlessness of his life, and then in transmitting them to the Church of the second century, the onward course of God's kingdom among men would have been arrested, and a new remedial plan for human salvation made necessary. But there was no failure here. The human work, like the divine preceding it, was a complete triumph over the strongest forces of both the Jewish and pagan world.

The Apostles' Creed, so called in the literature of the Church, may have derived some of its parts from brief formularies used by the Church during the first century.¹ In its main statements, however, there is no proof that it existed before the middle of the second century, while in its present full state we do not find that it existed before the sixth or seventh century. Usher and Pearson prove clearly that the article on the descent into hell was **THE APOSTLES' CREED.** not used for four centuries, except in the single obscure

creed of Aquileia. Cyril, Rufinus, and Augustine are witnesses that its use was to be a guide for catechists in training the young, and all who were admitted into the Church, in a knowledge of the fundamental Christian doctrines.² It was used for a long time in the Greek section of the Church in the city of Rome, and in its present form is to be traced to Gaul. There are traces of brief formularies in the New Testament writings, such as in our Lord's command to his disciples to baptize in the name of the Trinity,³ and **OTHER FORMU- LARIES.** possibly, in Paul's command to Timothy: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me. in faith, and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which

¹ As a specimen of the puerile attempts to prove that the apostles produced the creed bearing their name, and that each had a part in it, we may cite the following: "Peter said, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty.' John, 'Maker of heaven and earth.' James, 'And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord.' Andrew added, 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.' Philip said, 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.' Thomas, 'He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead.' Bartholomew, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.' Matthew, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' James, the son of Alphaeus, added, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.' Simon Zelotes, 'The communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins.' Jude, the brother of James, 'The resurrection of the body.' Matthias, 'Life Everlasting. Amen.'" From pseudo-Augustinian sermons in Augustine (Bened. ed.), vol. v, Append., p. 395. This worthless tradition is first mentioned by Ambrose and Rufinus, and is still received by some Roman Catholic scholars as, e. g., Abbé Martigny in his *Dict. des Ch. Antiq.*, sub *Symbole des Apôtres*. It was first refuted by Laurentius Valla, the founder of historical criticism, and by Erasmus.

² Cyril, *Catechesis*; Rufinus, *de Symbolo*; Augustine, *Serm. i, ad Catechum.*

³ *Matt. xxviii, 19.*

was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us."¹ Several writers of the early centuries, such as Jerome and Peter Chrysologus, state that symbols were employed by the apostles, but that they were not recorded by them.² Nothing was more natural than that there should be terse formularies, or watchwords, of faith in the individual churches, and that these might vary, according to the locality and the minister.³ Later, when controversy arose, and the necessity of a common bond of belief became apparent, the Apostles' Creed took shape, and was widely, though not universally, used.⁴

Theology, which is the human construction of the divine word, was in process of development during this period. The gospels contained a statement of facts. Yet each had his right, as a believer, to draw his conclusions as to the fact itself. We have, for example, several important declarations of our Lord on the sanctity of the Sabbath. But neither he, nor any evangelist, nor Paul lays down a formal statement of the doctrine it-DEVELOPMENT
OF THEOLOGY.self. The result was that the Church began early to think upon it and reach formulated conclusions on it as an article for the belief of its members. The same liberty was granted the mind of the Church in relation to the person of Christ. It was never designed that the believer should not investigate this profound theme and do what lay within his power to expound the doctrine in the briefest and clearest possible terms. There was nothing in the gospels that did not require an explanation. There were the great themes

¹ 2 Tim. i, 13, 14.

² Jerome says: "In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus." Ep. ad Psammachium adv. err. Johan. Hieros. chap. ix. Peter Chrysologus states this: "Hæc fides, hoc sacramentum, non est committendum chartis, non scribendum literis." Serm. 57, in Symb. Apost.

³ *Σμβολον* means watchword. Its origin, as applied to a creed, is doubtful, some holding that it is from military language; others, that it is a sign of recognition among the pagans in relation to their mysteries. In either case it means the same thing—a word, or collection of words, indicating a test. Other words of substantially the same force are, canon, *regula fidei*, *Μάθημα*, *Γράμμα*, *Γραφή*. Comp. Bingham, Works, vol. iii, pp. 318–323.

⁴ The best book on the Apostles' Creed is the epoch-making work of Caspari, *Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, Christiania, 1866–79, four parts. The dogmatic significance has been reinvestigated by Harnack in his *Hist. of Dogma* and special works, but under an anticonservative reaction. Against him see Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, Lond., 1894. Comp. McGiffert in *Chr. Literature* (magazine), Nov., 1894, p. 44. See also Lumby, *Hist. of the Creeds*, 3d ed., Lond., 1887. and Swainson, *The Nicene and the Apostles' Creed*, Lond., 1875, and his article on *Creed* in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, etc. The older work of Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, Oxf., 1858, is still of value.

which were to test not only the faith of the Church, at that early day, but that sublime energy in thought which is needed at all times for a candid inquiry into the truth necessary for salvation.¹

One cannot contemplate without admiration these first efforts of Christian thinkers to group and formulate into theological statement the fundamental truths of their faith. They were wrestling with principalities. The literature of the world was against them.

**FIRST EFFORTS
TO FORMULATE
THEOLOGY.** When summoned to expound their doctrines they had the difficulty of explaining miracles and a divine character.

Yet they did not fear, but addressed themselves to their work with an energy which has not been surpassed at any later period.

But the thinkers were not a privileged class, recognized by the Church as having the right to dictate a theology for the average member. Thinking on the great themes of revealed truth was the privilege of all. "It was not regarded," says Reuss, "as the peculiar study or special privilege of any one class of Christians. As soon as reflection, aroused by personal experience or by the conflict of opinions, had begun to grasp the meaning of religious facts, all the members of the community, without distinction of origin, might take part in this intellectual labor, the full bearing and consequences of which were not as yet apprehended. . . . The power of the ideas contained in the Gospel was such that from the moment circumstances had broken through the trammels that at first fettered their development their volcanic force produced its natural effect in the world of thought, just as every healthy and vigorous plant starts into new growth and beauty when the spring sunshine sets the sap in motion and bursts the blossom-sheath."²

The sacred canon was not closed, and the apostles had not yet departed, before the appearance of the hostile literary forces of Judaism on the one hand and paganism on the other. The recognition of this antagonistic factor by some of the apostles has proved a help to the Church amid similar opposition down to the present time. John's gospel, written in large measure to repel the false gnosis, is the one book

**POпуляр
THOUGHT ON
THEOLOGICAL
THEMES.**

¹ Reuss shows how the death on the cross was capable of developing thought. The disciples, in answering the Jews, "found themselves constrained so to explain his death that it should not compromise his Messianic dignity." *Hist. Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age*, p. 293. On the Messianic thought of the gospels the best book is Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels* (N. Y., 1895), a work remarkable for its scholarship and the spiritual power of its interpretation.

² *Hist. Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age*, p. 294.

to which appeal must ever be made for a triumphant proof of the divinity of our Lord, while Paul, who foresaw that "grievous wolves"¹ would appear among his flocks, was permitted to point out the best methods to control their ravages, as he does in his epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, Titus, and Timothy, not only for his own days, but for the Church of the future. That the apostolic age possessed an inspired counteraction of the errors from every quarter is one of the most beautiful evidences of divine prevision and guidance. This was a need of the Church. Its mind required to be clear in faith, and to go out upon its long mission with a positive confession of the vital truth which had been committed to it. The continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine was no Pentecostal spasm, but became a law of the Church's life and the condition of its success. Is it a matter of surprise that, having this rich endowment, it was prepared for the social proscription and physical sufferings which now confronted it? Even martyrdom was no hard trial, but was the welcome crown to an experience based upon the calm and certain faith in Christ.

¹ Acts xx, 29, 30.

CHAPTER IX.

WORSHIP AND LIFE.

THE first worship of the Christians was a free imitation of the service of the Jewish synagogue. It was severely simple and earnest. At the beginning the place of meeting was the temple itself, or some hall connected with it. There was no thought, at this time, of separate edifices for worship alone, and there are few traces of churches having been built before the third century. The poverty of the Christians was not favorable to such structures, and their necessity led them to that close fellowship and social sympathy which proved an invaluable help in their sufferings. As the chasm between Christianity and Judaism widened, the attachment of believers to the temple diminished, and in time all their services were held in private houses. All parts of that close resemblance between the Christian and Jewish worship among the Jewish Christians disappeared with the destruction of the temple, A. D. 70. It was the sundering of the last bond which held Christianity to Judaism. One room in the private house served the purpose of a sanctuary, and assumed somewhat the appearance of a place of worship. A cathedra, or platform, served for the speaker or reader, while a table (*ara*) was placed for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.¹

THE services consisted, first, of reading from the Old Testament Scriptures, the apostolical epistles, and, latest of all, of the gospels. The selections were lengthy, and of such character as to supply the want of the average hearer, who was not possessed of a manuscript copy of the Scriptures, and could not even read. Connected with the reading were both exposition and exhortation, according to the will of the speaker.

The singing of psalms and hymns was an important part of the service. It might be led by an individual, but Paul's advice proves that the singing by the whole congregation was regarded as the best form of praise.² The psalms of David, the antiphonal portions of the prophecies, and, indeed, all those parts of the Old Testament which have rhythmic character and express the deeper flow of the

¹ Comp. Guericke, Church History, vol. i, p. 133.

² 1 Cor. xiv, 26; Col. iii, 16.

soul, were sung at these early meetings of believers. We cannot suppose, however, that the hymns were confined to the Scriptures. Even then Christians began to give expression to their loftier feelings in verse, and some of their better productions, such as those inscribed to Christ, reached the congregation, became the possession of the whole Church, and produced a profound impression on the world.¹ With the hymns, as with the confessions of faith, while their exact forms have not been preserved, their spirit and thought have reached us, so that, while singing the rich melodies of the older hymns, we are expressing the same sentiments as the Christians of the first century.² The most ancient liturgical formulary which has reached us is that inserted into the Abyssinian text of the Apostolical Constitutions of the Coptic Church. But even this gives evidence of the disturbance of the early simplicity of sacred verse and melody by that unnecessary critic of every age, the vandal hymn-mender, who is, generally, as destitute of the poetical quality as the literary critic is of the gift of original authorship. It is not unlikely that sentences like 1 Tim. iii, 16 and 2 Tim. ii, 11-13 are fragments of early Christian hymns.³

PSALMS AND
HYMNS.

Prayer was connected with the singing. Sometimes it was silent, but more generally it was audible, and while it was most frequently offered by the minister there was not, as yet, a necessity which kept the private layman from leading the petitions of the assembly. In fact, freedom of testimony was characteristic of the Christian meetings, as it had been of the Jewish. When the prayer was concluded the congregation responded "Amen." The concluding exercise was the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Originally, the *ἀγάπη*, or love feast, was connected with the Lord's Supper. It was the Christian meal of the earliest period, partaken together, as a token of the brotherhood of all believers. Food was brought by the more able members, and this was distributed so that the poor had equal privilege of participation with the rest. But certain irregularities took place in connection with the love feast. It was abused, and in some cases converted into an occa-

THE LORD'S
SUPPER.

¹ Witness Pliny's testimony to the singing of the Christians: "*Carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere secum invicem.*" Epp. Lib. x, Ep. 97.

² For the oldest forms of the Christian hymns see Bunsen, an enthusiastic student of liturgical history, *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. ii, pp. 50, ff. Comp., on later oriental liturgies, Neale, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. i, pp. 314, ff. The best work on early hymnology is the great work of Daniel, *Theaur. Hymnolog.*, 4 vols. (Leipz., 1855). Comp. the excellent book of Duffield, *Latin Hymns* (N. Y., 1889); Pitra, *Hymn. de l'Eglise Grecque* (Rome, 1867).

³ Westcott and Hort, the editors of the best text of the Greek Testament, arrange these and other passages in poetic form.

sion of gluttony and disorder. It was, consequently, separated at a later day, about A. D. 150, from all connection with the Lord's Supper. After the exercises were finished the kiss of charity, or brotherhood, was given (*φίλημα ἀγάπης*), and, prayer being again offered, and the congregation responding "Amen," the services were concluded with the apostolic benediction. These services were held at first daily, then weekly.

Besides the Lord's Supper there was only one other sacrament.

BAPTISM. baptism, known to the apostolic Church. While the former was a part of every service, baptism was occasional, and dependent on the requirements for admission. After the council at Jerusalem, which abrogated the Jewish ceremonial as a necessity for admission into membership of the Church, baptism was regarded by all Christians, the Greek and Roman, not less than Jewish, as the only visible condition for reception into the Christian fold. Baptism was practiced by immersion, or sprinkling, or pouring, and we have ample ground from the Scriptures for believing that it was applied to children as well as adults.¹

The evidence for infant baptism in the apostolic Church rests on the historic presuppositions of Jewish customs and on that principle of Christianity which involves the union of children with Christ rather than on any certain recorded examples. It is not excluded by the New Testament, and is in entire accord with the spirit and teachings of the Gospel, if not, indeed, required by its spirit and teachings. It is traced in the writings of Irenæus, and others of the Fathers, to a time so near the apostles that it

MODE OF BAPTISM. is impossible to account for its origin and wide prevalence in the Church, except by regarding it as having the sanction of apostolic practice. Tertullian opposed it on speculative grounds, but not as an innovation. That immersion was one of the modes of baptism practiced in the primitive Church is generally conceded by exegetes and ecclesiastical historians, but not to the exclusion of other modes.² That pouring and sprinkling were practiced is shown by the most ancient frescoes, and also by the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.³ The methods of administration in the early Church do not necessarily bind later Christians.⁴ The formula of baptism, in the name of the Father,

¹ Acts ii, 39; xvi, 33; 1 Cor. vii, 14.

² Moeller, Hist. of Chr. Church, trans. by Rutherford, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, p. 70.

³ Chapter vii.

⁴ See Smyth, Baptism in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and in Early Chr. Art, in Andover Review, i, 533, 663, and, on the Baptist side, Burroughs, Hist. of the Act of Baptism in the Chr. Church, Phila., 1879.

the Son, and the Holy Ghost, was observed from the beginning of the apostolic Church.

The Romish enlargement of the number of the sacraments, beyond the Lord's Supper and baptism, has no authority in the prescriptions of Christ or the usage of the early Church.¹ THE SABBATH AND SUNDAY. The Sabbath, or seventh day, was still observed by Jewish Christians, but the Sunday, or first day of the week, was also religiously observed, in memory of the resurrection of Jesus. Gradually the Sunday became more prominent, and finally the seventh day gave place altogether to the first. The many festivals of the Jewish Church were regarded with reverence by the Jewish Christians, and the stress laid upon them by that element in the Church led Paul to express himself very fully against a too rigid observance of them. Easter and Pentecost, however, were no less important events in Christian than in Jewish history, and there is every reason to believe that two such events as the resurrection of Christ and the outpouring of the Spirit were, from an early time, held in special remembrance as sacred seasons by the Christians.²

The life of the Christians, like their worship, was simple, pure, and fraternal. It was the outflow of their heroic faith. The obliteration of social and national differences was powerful and complete. Whenever either the Jew or the Greek became a Christian he was received into the fold of believers with such a welcome as made him feel that he was a member of a great community of believers. His nationality was forgotten in the broader commonwealth of brothers in Christ. FRATERNITY OF CHRISTIANS. "These Christians," says Bunsen, "belonged to no nation and to no State; but their fatherland in heaven was to them a reality, and the love of the brethren, in truth and not in words, made the Christian congregation the foreshadowing of a Christian commonwealth, and model for all ages to come."³ One of the first evidences of this fraternal sense is to be found in the help which was extended to the needy. The poor in Jerusalem, for whom Paul collected contributions from the Greek Christians in Asia Minor, were only the first to receive the benefit of this early tender sympathy of the strong for the weak. Beneficence became the law, and not the impulse of a generous hour, which entered into the whole life of the early Church. No needy society was forgotten in its silent sorrow,

¹ The Protestant view of the number of the sacraments has received new confirmation in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

² It is likely that the observance of these festivals grew up in the second, or, more likely, in the third, century.

³ Christianity and Mankind, vol. i, p. 6.

whether of mere poverty or unsparing persecution. The eager notice and active help of the strong radiated as sunbeams to dispense their warmth.

The Christians, in this respect, contrasted beautifully with the desperate and cold conduct of pagans toward their needy brothers in faith. During the pestilence which raged throughout North Africa in the reign of Gallus, A. D. 251-253, the sacrifices made by Christians revealed the width of the chasm between their faith and paganism. For, while the pagans deserted their sick and dying, and stripped their bodies of what might be valuable, and saw, unmoved, the streets of Carthage filled with the bodies of the dead, the wealthier Christians divided their means, and the poor gave their labor, so that the streets were soon cleared of the decomposing bodies, and the sick were cared for with great tender-

ness and devotion.¹ When the plague visited Alexandria, in the reign of Gallienus, A. D. 260-268, the pagans drove their friends, when stricken by the contagion, from their presence, cast the half-dead into the streets, and refused to bury the dead; while the Christians took the diseased to their homes, nursed them with care, and, if the sufferers died, their bodies were buried with Christian rites.² Sometimes it might be a question as to the propriety of a benefaction. But the grave need soon overcame all questions of relative importance. For example, when some Numidian Christians were led off into captivity the churches of North Africa soon raised enough money (one hundred thousand sesterces) to cover the ransom demanded for their restoration.³ Neither the faith nor the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans came to aid that universal physical suffering which seemed to be one of the leading characteristics of the decline of the Roman empire.⁴

The way in which the Church began to lift woman up into privilege and hope was one of its most prompt and beautiful transformations from the blight of paganism. Too long in the darkness, she was now helped into the sunlight. There was much, even in the origin of Christianity, to suggest her true place in life and religion. Elizabeth, Anna, and, most of all, Mary the mother of Jesus, be-

¹ Comp. Neander, Gen. Hist. Christ. Rel. and Church, vol. i, pp. 258, 259.

² Eusebius, Ch. Hist., book vii, chap. xxii.

³ Cyprian, Ep. 60. Sestertia centum millia nummorum.

⁴ Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege, pp. 2-6. See Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1870, pp. 617-619, and the valuable article in the Quarterly Review (Lond.), Jan., 1883. The whole subject is canvassed *in extenso* in Chastel, Charity of the Primitive Churches, Phila., 1857, and Uhlhorn, Christian Charity in the Ancient Church, N. Y., 1883.

came early witnesses of the new emphasis on the dignity and worth of woman, while the women of whom Paul makes mention in his epistles were not only highly appreciated for their works' sake, but became exemplars for earnestness and devotion in the spread of the Gospel, and for a quick and wise appreciation of the best plans for its expansion over the earth. Without her helping hand Christianity, in its initial as well as all its later stages, would have been limited by a narrow horizon. By her devotion in peace, her heroism in persecution, and her fortitude at all times, woman early won that high place in the respect and veneration of the Church which she has preserved in every period of later history.'

ELEVATION OF
WOMAN.

The way in which Christianity applied its humane spirit to the slave is not less a proof of its promptness to minister to the needy. Paul said, "There is neither bond nor free." Christians constituted a universal brotherhood. The slave was not a slave, but a brother with his master.' Paul's appeal to Philemon, to show kindness to the slave Onesimus, and receive him back again, is a clear indication of the view with which Christians of this whole period regarded slaves, as brothers beloved in the Lord.' At the same time obedience was urged upon the slave, and no attempt was made to interfere with existing institutions. As Biot well says, 'no writer for three hundred years ever spoke of Christianity as doing away with slavery. For emancipation the Gospel acted directly on the heart, only indirectly on legislation.'

HOSTILITY OF
CHRISTIANITY
TO SLAVERY.

The triumph of Christianity was in the whole structure of social life. The pagan civilization, according to its own witnesses, was a whited sepulcher. With all its beautiful exterior of poetic and philosophic achievement, its triumphs in oratory and art, and its military deeds, there was still lacking that conservative principle which was needful for the life of the nation and the moral dignity of society. The Christianity of the earliest period supplied this need. While

TRIUMPH OF
CHRISTIANITY
IN THE WHOLE
STRUCTURE OF
SOCIAL LIFE.

¹ See The Position of Women Among the Early Christians, by Principal Donaldson, in The Contemp. Rev., Sept., 1889, Mag. of Chr. Lit., Nov., 1889. He shows the restricted sphere accorded to women in the early Church.

² Gal. iii, 28.

³ Ratzinger, Geschichte der Armenpflege, p. 36.

⁴ Philem., verses 15-19.

⁵ L'abolition de l'esclavage dans l'Occident, p. 126.

⁶ In Cochlin, L'abolition de l'esclavage. Paris, 1862, vol. ii, pp. 348-470, there is an able treatment of the relation of Christianity and slavery. See also Schaff, Hist. of the Apostolic Church, § 113, and his Essay on Slavery and the Bible in his Christ and Christianity, N.Y., 1885, pp. 184-212. There are excellent remarks in Dollinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, pp. 163, ff.

it began with the poor and the home, it did not confine itself here. This was a current of too much force to find an early limit. It gave promise of transmuting the whole life of the people, in all parts of the Roman empire. "This world-renewing spirit," says Bunsen, "could not stop short with the family relations; its work became social, in spite of aristocratic pride, of mammon and State law, of philosophers and national economists. . . . Each member of the congregation was bound to assist every other, as a brother; and the congregations all over the earth were to feel themselves united by the Spirit as one body of redeemed men, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians."¹

It should not surprise us that a system of such revolutionary character should very early be regarded as antagonistic to the State. It was of just such nature, by the very atmosphere that surrounded the places of worship and existed in all Christian circles, as to ex-

ALARM PRO-
DUCED IN THE
PAGAN GOV-
ERNMENT BY
REVOLUTION-
ARY CHARAC-
TER OF CHRIS-
TIANITY.

cite alarm, not only that the national faith was in danger, but also the life as well. Nero found many to believe him that the Christians had set Rome on fire. It was one of the pagan watchwords that the Christians are traitors to the national cause. While such a charge, in the sense in which it was made, had no foundation, the fact does remain that an empire, based on such perversion as that of Rome, could not live in the presence of Christianity. Therefore the Roman empire and the pagan faith went down at the same time in a common abyss before the Gospel—the evangel of the free mind and the pure heart.

¹ Christianity and Mankind, vol. i, p. 49. Charles Loring Brace has treated this whole subject in an illuminating and satisfactory manner in *Gesta Christi* (N. Y., 4th ed., 1885, chap. i-x).

SECOND PERIOD.

THE PATRISTIC AGE.

A. D. 101-313. PERIOD OF PERSECUTION AND DEFENSE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

THIS, more than any time in the history of the Church, was the period of persecution and defense. These two forces ran in parallel lines from the death of John to Constantine's Edict of Toleration in the year 313. However severe and violent the attempts to arrest Christianity, heroism and skill were never wanting in meeting them. Even before the death of the apostles there was a strong disposition on the part of the great outlying world to destroy the new religion, but there was no indication that the persecution would become general and a part of the settled public policy of the Roman empire. While there had been an intense hostility toward the founders of the societies it was, nevertheless, a question whether, they having disappeared, there would be the same antagonism toward the great body of later believers.

No long period elapsed before this question was settled. The patristic age was more violent in its dealing with the Christians than the apostolic. What, in the latter case, was sporadic, became general in the former. It is very easy to account for this result. The initiatory persecutions had failed of securing the desired object. Christianity, instead of being eradicated, or driven into obscurity, had spread far and wide, so that it was difficult to find any department of life, or any region of Roman territory, where there were not Christians in abundance. They were to be found in every social stratum. Before the middle of the second century the universal increase was so rapid as to become a subject of alarm. The Christians had penetrated the distant colonies and the conquered territory; they were abundant

PERSECUTION
AND DEFENSE.UNIVERSAL IN-
CREASE OF THE
CHRISTIANS.

in the army, and in many instances filled important civil offices.¹ It was this remarkable growth, not only by natural increase, but by rapid accessions from the Jewish and pagan population, that led the rulers to consider seriously the question whether Christianity should be exterminated by violent measures, or be allowed to expand with its usual rapidity, and become a rival to the old faith, and possibly possess itself of the government.

Persecution was adopted as the wiser and safer course. It was not simply an indifference to humane impulses, a culmination of centuries of brutal and voluptuous associations, that led the most of the emperors to persecute the Christians, but rather a persistent effort to preserve the national faith and make any civil prominence of the Christians an impossibility. There was less of wild and hostile impulse than of deep-seated purpose in all the persecutions. Some have supposed that certain of the rulers were so favorable to Christianity as, secretly, to wish it final success. We can find no warrant for such a pleasing and charitable opinion. The emperors exhibited the usual variety in temperament and mental qualities, some being impulsive and others cautious; some, like Nero, heartless, and others, like Aurelius, more appreciative of good wherever found. But the general position of the empire toward Christianity was that of intense hostility, modified only by the individuality of the ruler, the character of his environment at court, the external condition of the empire, and the firmer hold of Christianity in the centers and its diffusion in the provinces.

There is some truth, but far more exaggeration, in Conybeare's explanation of the persecutions, when he says that the first Christians were nihilists and anarchists; that their tendencies were thoroughly antisocial; that they rejected family ties and interfered with family relations; that they were communists; that they elevated the anticivic vice of improvidence and poverty into a virtue; that their rites were secret; that early Christianity was, in short, subversive of society.²

These positions are far wide of the mark. For the Christians were uniformly obedient to the laws, except in the matter of idolatry; they mingled freely with the pagans in the ordinary work of life; they were industrious and virtuous; there is no single instance of a communistic Church except that at Jeru-

¹ See Plummer, *The Church of the Early Fathers*, Lond. and N. Y., 1887, pp. 3-6.

² Collection of Armenian Acts of the Martyrs. *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity*, Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 283-288.

saalem, which, it is evident, soon abandoned this feature of its life; they honored the family relation, but held that it should be subordinated to higher claims. Some of the Christians accumulated wealth and others were in the court of Caesar himself.¹

The Christians could resist only with moral and spiritual forces. They had no civil ruler to whom they might go for sympathy, or on whom they might lean for aid in the hour of need. They could not draw the sword if they would; and they would not if they could. They could be banished, and yet, in their solitude, they found means to write some of those strong and nervous defenses of Christianity which have never been superseded as models of defensive logic and of aggressive literary warfare. They had breathing spells between the violence of persecutions, especially when the rulers were otherwise engaged, as in making war upon other powers or quelling a revolution, and during these pauses they divided their time between industrious evangelistic work and framing skillful apologies for the faith. It is a high testimony to the intellectual vigor of that age that there was not a weakness of paganism, a fallacy of its thinkers, a moral defect of its popular religion, or a civil wrong inflicted by its rulers upon Christianity, that was not exposed by these apologists. They had been converted from paganism. They had learned it at home from their parents and in the schools. They had been taught rhetoric and other broad studies by wise masters, and now, as with Paul before them, they came with this wealth of culture and laid it at the feet of Christ. It was paganism lifting its sword against itself.

THE APOLO-
GISTS.

Out of this attack and resistance came a certain speculative tendency. At no time has there been such a complete breaking up of the old forms of thought as in the second and third centuries. Outside of the Christian world there was no certainty, and the theosophic speculations from the East were obtruding themselves even upon Rome and other centers, and so mingling with the current paganism that the mass was a hopeless confusion of worn-out and despairing beliefs. There was neither color nor fiber in any non-Christian religion. The old pagan identity was destroyed. All the world's faiths flocked to Rome for a hearing, a footing, and a new sway in the West. It was their fate to find only a graveyard. The speculations were, in some cases, originated by pagan thinkers, who thought they could see some points of affinity between Christianity and the old polytheism, and undertook to achieve the impossibility of a compromise. Hence gnosticism,

SPECULATIVE
TENDENCY.

¹As against Conybeare, see the juster estimate of the causes of the persecutions in Neander, i, 86-93, and Schaff, rev. ed., ii, 40-44.

the last effort of the pagan mind to solve the mysteries of being, and this only by assimilating Christian elements, was a more complete failure than any one of the systems of Greek philosophy. Ebionism, too, with its large measure of Jewish speculations, was destined to a similar fate. Thus the speculative task of paganism on the one hand, and of Judaism on the other, was incapable of fulfillment. It was a final dash in the dark for escape, and it met only the granite wall. It was, in both cases, an attempt at rehabilitation by the infusion of Christian elements, or an accommodation to the spirit of the age. The failure was certain and prompt; for Christianity consents to no compromise and admits no rival to its fellowship.

Every destructive agency of Nature in her wildest moods was charged upon the Christians. The ills of every land were laid at their door. In Africa it was a proverb: "It does not rain; lead us against the Christians." Tertullian declared in his Apology: "When the Tiber reaches the city walls, when the Nile does not overflow, when famine or pestilence prevail in a land, the cry is heard, 'Cast the Christians to the lions.'"¹

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN SPITE OF OPPOSITION. But in spite of all this opposition, the Church grew steadily in numbers and firmness. This same Tertullian could also say: "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are only a lure to this sect. Our number increases the more you destroy us. The blood of the Christians is their seed. . . . We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only. You count your armies, but our numbers in a single province will be greater."² "Many," says Pliny, "of every age, every rank, and also of both sexes, are called into danger, and are likely to be so; and not only through the cities, but even through the villages and rural districts, the contagion of that superstition has spread."³

¹ Apol., chap. xl. ² *Ibid.*, chap. xxxvii. ³ Letter to Trajan, about A. D. 112.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION—THE JEWISH PERSECUTION.

THE death of Christ did not appease the wrath of the Jews. They soon saw that his passion was far from being the termination of his work. The disciples showed no disposition to forget their allegiance and disband, while the result of the preaching of Peter at Pentecost was such a large accession of numbers that the cause began, on that day, a new career of work and growth. Forceful measures were adopted. Stephen, the deacon, was put to death, and Peter and John were cast into prison. The

PERSECUTION
UNDER HEROD
AGRIPPA I.

persecution under Herod Agrippa I, which began A. D. 44, was general, and continued eight years. James the Elder became a victim to it. There were several elements that entered into it and made it the more violent. One was the fact that, in the Roman empire generally, and particularly in the capital, the Jews saw that Christianity was confounded with Judaism, and that it was judged as a Jewish phenomenon.

In far-off Rome the Jews and Christians were confounded, in the popular mind, as sects of equal absurdity. Nero's persecution was directed to both alike. There were no finespun distinctions. Both Jew and Christian had their cradle in despised Palestine, a rebellious province, and both were regarded as alike unworthy a place in the Roman Pantheon. This was very humiliating to the Jews. They had repudiated Chris-

Jews and
Christians in
Rome.

tianity, and while it arose in their country and from among their people, they did not wish to be held accountable for a system whose Founder they had crucified and whose nearest friends they had put to death.

But a still deeper ground of hostility lay in the belief that Christianity was in large measure responsible for their national overthrow. There was not a single Jewish sect that had not ground for seeing in Christianity an uncompromising enemy. The Pharisees remembered that Christ had declared against their hypocrisy and formality, and had insulted their national prejudice by attentions to the Samaritans. The Sadducees had not forgotten that Christ had exposed their unbelief in a future and spiritual world. In their numerous revolts no

CHRISTIANS
REGARDED BY
THE JEWS AS
DISLOYAL.

sooner did the Jews enjoy a temporary success than they employed violent measures against the Christians, putting them to death often with slow tortures. During the interval between the death of Christ and the year 70 much of the persecution of the Christians in Rome and the adjacent provinces was due to the instigation of the Jews in Palestine, who sent messengers to the capital, and to the centers of proconsular authority, to give warning to both Jews and pagans against the Christians as enemies to the cult and civil polity of the empire. Toward the martyrdom of Polycarp the Jews contributed their full share.¹ This peculiar procedure, or method of epistolary warning accounts in no small measure for the hostile measures which greeted Paul everywhere on his arrival in the cities of Asia Minor and Greece.

But the Jewish hostility to Christianity reached its culmination in A. D. 70, when Jerusalem was captured by the Roman army under Titus. This event was the destruction of the

CAPTURE OF
JERUSALEM BY
TITUS A. D. 70.

Jews as a nationality. Their despair on seeing the Roman army in possession of their sacred city, and especially of their temple, both of which were destroyed, so far exceeded all bounds that many cast themselves down headlong, and put themselves to death in other ways, sooner than witness the profanation of their sacred places. According to Josephus one million and one hundred thousand Jews lost their lives during the siege, while ninety-seven thousand were led off into captivity. The Christians fled to Pella, east of the Jordan, where they were in comparative safety. Not only was no mercy shown to the Christians by the Jews during the four years that elapsed between the Jewish victory over the Roman army, under the command of Cestius Gallus, and the destruction of Jerusalem, but in the time of final overthrow their rage against the Christians was even more violent than against the Romans.

While the political power of the Jews was broken by the conquest of Palestine and the destruction of Jerusalem one more attempt at restoration was made by them. Bar Coheba, the pseudo-

BAR COHE-
BA'S REVOLT
AGAINST RO-
MAN SUPREMA-
CY.

Messiah, led a revolt against the Roman supremacy in the year 132, and was successful for three years. He was a man of great energy and of magnetic spirit, and, combining the religious and military elements, possessed a double charm for the desponding Jews. Suddenly

¹ Eusebius, Ecc. Hist., iv, 15; *μήλιστα Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἔθος αὐτῶν, εἰς ταῦτα ἐπιπορεύοντων*. We may believe, with Renan and Ewald, that the Jews instigated the persecution under Nero. Tertullian calls the synagogues of the Jews "fountains of persecution" (Scorp., chap. 10).

emerging from obscurity, trained as a robber chieftain, and with no mercy or remorse in his character, he carried destruction wherever he went. His original name was Simon, but he called himself Bar Cocheba, son of a star, or the long-promised Messiah, the Star out of Jacob.¹ He gained possession of Jerusalem and the entire country. The Christians took no part in his revolution, and their refusal was made the pretext by him and his followers for violent persecution. His movements were quick and well planned. His strategy and courage, with a devoted army of two hundred thousand Jews at his command, were more than a match for the Roman army under Annus Rufus.

This revolt soon became known at Rome, and Julius Severus was called home from Britain and put in charge of the Roman forces in Judea. He caused Bar Cocheba to concentrate his forces, and defeated him at Bethar, in 135, after a strong and successful revolution of three years. Such of the Jews as were not slaughtered were sold into slavery. Bar Cocheba perished with his army, and ever afterward became known to the world as Bar Kosiba, the Son of a Lie.² The condition of the country, often plowed by war, had never been so desolate as now. It is estimated that fifty fortified cities, besides hundreds of towns, were destroyed, and seven hundred thousand people fell victims to the sword and famine. While it was not permitted a Jew to come within sight of Jerusalem on penalty of death, every effort was made to destroy all traces of Christianity in that city. The Emperor Hadrian ordered the organization and settlement of a Roman colony on its ruins, to which he gave the name of the Ælian Capitol (Ælia Capitolina), in honor of his own family. He rebuilt the city, but left Mount Zion out of its limits, and extended the new streets to the north and east of the former site. He leveled Mount Moriah, the former site of the temple, and ornamented it with trees and statues of himself; he erected a temple to Venus on Mount Calvary, and placed a statue of Jupiter on the supposed spot of the sepulcher. This studious sacrifice of places dear to the Christians was especially gratifying to the Jews, who regarded it as no small compensation for their own humiliation and even their loss of nationality.

Suppression
of the Revolt
by Julius Se-
verus.

The Jews were now hopelessly prostrated. They had risen in revolt against their Roman masters in Palestine and were conquered

¹ Num. xxiv, 17.

² Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, pp. 70, ff; Milman, Hist. of the Jews, ii, 433-442; Ewald, Geschichte d. Volks Israel, vii, 373-432; Schürer, Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, 350, ff.

and almost the remnant of the population destroyed. In other countries they had thrown off the Roman yoke for a time, and wherever they succeeded for even a brief space they directed their hostility at once against the Christians. Besides the revolutions in Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt proper, two hundred and twenty thousand fell victims to their rage in the Cyrenaica, and two hundred and forty thousand of the people of Cyprus.¹ Many of these were Christians, and always they were the first on whom the Jewish vengeance fell.

But all the revolutions failed. The Jew was prostrate and helpless, and even his hostility to the Christian did not help his cause with the Roman. So abject was his condition and hopeless his fate that he became an object of even poetic attention.² One thing only was left him. He could seek to gain by letters what he had lost in arms. Even after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in 70, we find the first movement in this direction. Only a small remnant of the people was left after the sack of Jerusalem and the slaughter of the people; but with that marvelous vitality which has always

THE NEW
JEWISH IM-
PULSE TO
STUDY.

characterized the Jews they again organized, distributed themselves judiciously, turned their attention toward the study of the sacred law, and applied it especially against Christianity. The elder Disraeli thus describes this new impulse: "Judaism found its last asylum in its academies. A conquered nation changed their military leaders into rabbis, and their hosts into armies of pale-cheeked students covered with the dust of the schools." The love of retired study had never been wanting, for in the days of the judges we read of Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, Rama, and Mount Carmel as places where students congregated in great numbers and sat at the feet of wise teachers of the law.³ Even before the captivity these schools were neglected, but after the return they were to some extent revived. It was only after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus that the Jewish mind was thoroughly directed toward their restoration, as if in the calm *beth midrash*, or house of exposition, the fire might be kept alive which in the time to come might burst forth into national revival and glory.

¹ Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, p. 68.

² Juvenal, living in Hadrian's time, writes:

"Cophino fœneque relicto,
Arcanum Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cœli;
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto,
Qualincumque voles Judæi somnia vendunt."—Sat. vi, 542-547.

³ Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, pp. 52, 53.

Eight of these schools were organized—Jamnia,¹ Lydda, Beth-ir, Chammatha, Caesarea, Magdala, Sephoris,² and Tiberias. They were the quiet places not reached by the tumult of the world, where hermeneutics, the traditional law, ethics, demonology, poetry, fable, and chronology were studied with great care and minute division of labor. Jamnia was the chief center of learning in Palestine, and the second Gamaliel was the president of the seminary. It rose to great prominence, and attracted many students from all the countries whither the Jews had been scattered. At the same time the other schools were not neglected, but became busy places for the study of Jewish theology and the cultivation of the traditions. Even as far eastward as Babylon there was an important school, where, in addition to the usual theology, astronomy and medicine were a part of the curriculum.

JEWISH
SCHOOLS.

These schools steadily grew in influence and in the number of students. The fire of patriotism burned on their altars. The least commotion that had for its aim a national uprising was fostered by them, and when Bar Cocheba arose they sent forth both students and rabbins to swell his ranks. After the overthrow of his revolt, though the remnant was again a mere handful, there was an immediate gathering about the schools. The seats of learning, as with the first Saxon schools in England when a tribal war was over, were the homes toward which the soldiers retreated, where they might at least find companionship and some little relief in reading that law which they regarded as their one immortal possession. Great teachers arose. Jose ben Halefta, Meir, Jehuda ben Illai, Simon ben Yochai, and the second Gamaliel became dear and familiar names to the scattered and weeping Jews of every land. They formed the bond of dispersed Jews everywhere. The theological tendency was a disposition to show the absurdity of Christianity, and that the Messiah was yet to come. These rabbins called the religion of Christ an atheistic heresy,³ and from their quiet retreats sent out to their dispersed brethren heated attacks upon it. So decided was the literary hostility on the part of the Jews that the Christian writers were compelled to recognize them as well as pagan writers in their apologetic works. Justin the Martyr wrote a Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew,⁴ and Tertullian wrote a work against the Jews.⁵ The seminary at Jamnia was ter-

GREAT TEACH-
ERS IN THE
SCHOOLS.

¹ Called also Jabneh, Japhia, and Japhne. ² Zaphat, or the present Safed.

³ Ἀθεϊσμός ἁθροῦς. ⁴ Πρὸς Τρυφῶνα Ἰουδαῖον διάλογος.

⁵ Adversus Iudaeos. Fabricius furnishes passages from the early Christian writers who complain of the Jewish persecution. Lux Evang. Ch., § 1, p. 121. See also Epistle of the Church of Smyrna de Martyrio Polycarpi, §§ xii, xiii.

minated by the Romans because of the seditious declarations of Jehuda, a teacher, but the scholars gathered now at Tiberias, which took the place of Jamnia as the learned center of the West.

The literary creations which came from these seminaries are mainly commentaries on the earlier works and expositions of the Scriptures. The first part of the Talmud is a product of that period of national sorrow and Christian antipathy. The school at Tiberias, though often nearly destroyed by devastating wars, has preserved its existence through all the Christian and Mohammedan centuries down to our own times.¹

Even the Samaritans contributed their share toward the universal opposition to Christianity. They possessed no political power, but very early after the death of Christ attempted that revival of their faith, with an infusion of Persian elements, which had a direct bearing against the Christians. Simon Magus, of the province of Samaria, after laboring for a time in Palestine, and gathering disciples about him, proceeded in 40 to Rome, where he taught his wild fancies, practiced magical exercises, and led an immoral life until about the year 50. He taught that there is an eternal and pure God, who has created eons and spirits like himself, and lives in a bright world; that there is a wicked force, which has created evil spirits; that there is a great number of good souls, which are united with a material and evil body. Men, therefore, are of both good and bad material. Simon represented himself as the greatest of all eons which God sent into the world to bring men to a knowledge of the truth, and his wife Helena as the best of all female eons, for the same purpose. Simon combined with these doctrines, which were of such effect as to throw off all moral restraints, the practice of magic, by which he gained great honor among the Romans, and was even deified by them.²

He gathered about him a large following, the Simonians, who were pagans and Jews, and aimed at inroads upon Christianity. They exerted no appreciable influence upon the thought of the times, and disappeared after the beginning of the fifth century.

¹ In 1871 I found at Tiberias a number of rabbins engaged in the study of their ancient vellum folios. They had betaken themselves to the roof of a house, which is always flat, as most favorable for undisturbed study. So intent were they at their labor of love that they barely looked up at the approach of an intruding visitor from the West.

² Justin the Martyr speaks of a statue erected to him in Rome, bearing the inscription: *Simoni Sancto Deo*. (Apol., i, § 26, 56. Dial. cum Tryphone, § 120.) This is most likely the same statue which was discovered on the island in the Tiber, inscribed *Semoni Sancto Deo Filio* (Semo Sanctus, a Sabine god).

Dositheus, also of Samaria, declared himself to be the promised prophet,¹ taught a peculiarly strict observance of the Sabbath,² practiced an ascetic life, baptized in his own name, and founded a sect which continued until the sixth century. Menander, a disciple of Simon the Magian, announced himself as the incarnate Messiah, and founded a short-lived and obscure sect, the Menandrians. All these teachers of erroneous opinions entertained a feeling of intense bitterness toward Christianity. Almost without exception they claimed to be the prophetic fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies, and made these lofty assumptions the excuse for immorality in life and extravagance in opinion. It was the final effort of the Jew to justify his treatment of Christ, and account for his own national ruin. Henceforth he became the wanderer among the nations.³

¹ Dent. xviii, 18.

² He held that the position in which one finds his body on awaking on the Sabbath must be strictly kept until night. Origen, *De Princ.*, iv, chap. 17.

³ The great work of Gratz on the history of the Jews has been translated and published in an abridged form by the Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia, 1894-96. Written from the standpoint of an intense Judaism it needs correction here and there, but is a work of vast learning. A useful book is Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans* (Lond. and N. Y., 1893).

LITERATURE: THE PERSECUTIONS.

For special studies of the early persecutions see the following :

1. Aubé, B. *Hist. des Persécutions de l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, Paris, 1875. Aubé made a special study of this subject in this and other works. He is one of the masters of the field.
2. Overbeck, F. *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche*, Chemnitz, 1875. A thorough investigation of Roman persecutions.
3. Wieseler, K. *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren*, Gütersloh, 1878.
4. Uhlhorn, G. *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*. Trans. with additional Notes by E. C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes, N. Y., 1879. An excellent introduction to this subject.
5. Mason, A. J. *The Diocletian Persecution*, Lond., 1876. An admirable monograph.
6. Hochart, P. *Études au Sujet de la Persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron*, Paris, 1885.
7. Oxenham, H. N. *Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography*, Lond., 1884, pp. 27-56.
8. Arnold, H. *Studien zur Geschichte der plinianischen Christenverfolgung*. Königsb., 1887. *Neronische Christenverfolgung*, Leipz., 1888.
9. Allard, P. *Les derniers Persécutions du troisième Siècle*, Paris, 1887. *Histoire des Persécutions pendant les deux premiers Siècles*, Paris, 1884. *Histoire des Persécutions pendant la première moitié du III^e Siècle*, Paris, 1885.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN PERSECUTION.

THE persecution of the Christians by the Romans varied with the emperors. There was at no time a State policy, shaped with a view to the final overthrow of Christianity, which remained unaltered through successive reigns. The sudden caprice of the ruler, produced possibly by the persuasion of an artful and bribed woman, or by an attack of indigestion, was often the potent agent to kindle the fires of martyrdom from Asia Minor to the Iberian peninsula. The alleged ground of hostility was the unquestioned antagonism of Christianity to the national religion. The Romans boasted that there was perfect liberty accorded all the faiths that might arise in the land or be introduced from abroad. The writers of the times lauded this religious catholicity as a distinguishing feature of the Latin civilization. When a province was conquered it was not made obligatory that the faith should be changed with the rule. The boast of the Roman was that his capital was the home of "a thousand faiths." But this charitable exterior was largely conditioned upon the quality of the faith which asked for tolerance. No liberty was granted a religion that impinged, to the least degree, upon the national religion.

DISLOYALTY
THE GENERAL
CHARGE
AGAINST
CHRISTIANS.

The theory of the expounders of Roman law was that every citizen owed allegiance to the religion of the State as a fundamental part of the political structure. Julius Paulus reports, as one of the civil laws, that whatever nobleman introduced a new religion, which, though its general character be unknown, might disturb the citizens, should be banished; while a plebeian committing such an offense should be put to death. Dio Cassius gives the following as the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus: "Worship the gods, in every particular, according to the laws of your country, and require others to do the like thing. But despise and punish all who introduce any religion foreign to our own, and this not only because of our gods, for he who does not reverence them cannot reverence anything; but because those who introduce new gods deceive others to make use of foreign laws. This is the source of sedition and private plotting, which

THEORY OF
THE EXPOND-
ERS OF THE
ROMAN LAW.

must not be tolerated in a monarchy. Allow nobody to deny our gods or make use of sorcery."

It was very soon seen that, while Christianity might be allowed to settle in Rome as a foreign faith with others, it possessed some qualities which made it obnoxious to the representatives of Roman authority. Its relation to the religion of the State was not that of submission and acquiescence, but of positive hostility. No one could be a Christian and sacrifice at a heathen altar or worship with the multitude in a heathen temple. From the moment that he adopted the religion of Christ, every bond that held him to the pagan mythology was sundered. His attitude was one of pronounced hostility, if not by word, at least by absence from all pagan rites, and by meeting with Christians in their services. He was at once a marked man.

There was not a single point of sympathy between his old faith and the new one. The pagan associates could no longer be intimate friends. The ties of kindred were broken by the still stronger bonds of religion. In addition to this antagonism to the Roman faith Christianity possessed a strong element of aggressiveness. It was the grain of mustard seed, and must necessarily take root; it was the leaven, and its force must permeate the mass. A still Christianity is always an impossibility. It must be at work, whatever the threat, and however near and sure the Damoclean sword above it. When Christianity reached Rome it was soon found in every circle of society, and more than one emperor was persuaded, by the pure life of some Christian member of his court, to be tolerant toward Christianity.

The charge was made, and not denied, that Flavius Clemens, a former consul and a cousin of Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, were Christians.¹ While there was this steady and ceaseless progress of Christianity in Rome, which left no class

¹ Eusebius says (H. E., iii, 18) that Domitilla, a niece of Flavius Clemens, was banished to the island of Pontia for her Christianity in the last year of Domitian, A. D. 96. The earlier historians, Suetonius (Domit., xv) and Dio Cassius (lxvii, 14), say that Domitian put Flavius Clemens to death for contemptible indolence and atheism—favorite charges against Christians. But whether Flavius was inclined toward Judaism or Christianity we cannot say. The fact that Christian tradition made his wife, Domitilla, a Christian, but was silent concerning the consul himself, is almost conclusive proof that the latter had not gone so far as his spouse. See McGiffert on Eusebius, as above; Venables in Smith and Waco, i, 553; Lightfoot, Phil., p. 22. The discovery of the family burial vault of Domitilla among the oldest remains of the kind, and with Christian emblems and associations, shows how early Christianity had found a place in the Flavian imperial family. See Kraus, Roma Sott., pp. 41, ff. Northcote, Roma Sott., 69, f. Comp. Hasenclever, in Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1882.

untouched by it, the aggressive spirit was everywhere present in the other parts of the empire. The zeal of the confessors was never satisfied except in winning new peoples to the Christian faith. The evangelistic example of the apostles was faithfully reproduced in the centuries immediately succeeding them.

Another decided factor which proved the antagonism of Christianity to the national religion was the injury which it inflicted upon the handicrafts that arose from the polytheistic system. The more materialistic the faith, the nearer its approach to the unreal and the unspiritual, the more dependent is it upon the work of the hands for its perpetuation. Even now, in the Greek and Roman Catholic countries, there are communities which are chiefly supported by the fabrication of articles connected with the service. In the town of Troitza, in central Russia, the entire business of the place is occupied in the manufacture of images and other objects which bring a ready price from the many worshipers that throng about that Russian Canterbury. Einsiedeln, the old monastic town which overlooks Lake Zurich, and is dear to the Protestant Swiss because of its having been the home of Zwingli, derives much of its sustenance from the sale of articles to the constant stream of pilgrims toiling upward to that historic shrine.

INJURY OF
CERTAIN PA-
GAN INDUS-
TRIES BY
CHRISTIANITY.

In the Roman empire a large population was entirely dependent upon the State religion for its support. Every temple had a large class of priests and servants, and there was no department of the service which did not, in some form, furnish a support for many people. Even the one feature of sacrifices required a large body of lay priests to conduct the nonpriestly part of it. Every temple was dedicated to some one of the many divinities, and the sale of the images alone furnished a livelihood for a community. The books on magic, burned by the Christian converts at Ephesus, amounted to fifty thousand pieces of silver, while the persons who made silver shrines for Diana seem to have been no insignificant guild, for they had power enough, through the leadership of Demetrius, to fill the whole city with confusion.¹ This question of financial ruin entered largely into the argument against Christianity, and in the places remote from the capital was the ground of violent opposition to its adherents. The administrators of the law saw that here was a source of loss to the State, and they reported to the chief authorities in Rome that, in proportion as the Christian population increased, there was a decrease of funds for the treasury of the State.

A LARGE RO-
MAN POPULA-
TION DEPEND-
ENT ON THE
STATE RELI-
GION.

¹ Acts xix, 19: xxiv, 29.

There was no ground for charge of personal treachery to the empire.

It was not questioned that the Christians were brave and pure, but the charge was that their faith was unnational throughout, and therefore ought to be exterminated. There were other serious charges—that they held secret meetings, which aimed at the death of the empire: that they practiced cannibal (Thyestine) rites, a misinterpretation of the Lord's Supper; and that they early introduced their children into their own forbidden practices. But these charges were easily refuted, and were only advanced as a desperate justification for violent measures, so that they had only limited force.

While it is generally assumed that there were ten persecutions it is not safe to define the number. The boundary between a general and a local persecution is often very vague, and what one writer has regarded universal has been found to have been limited, and rather the work of the proconsul than of the emperor. There was a progress in the bitterness of the persecutions, and an increase of the territory by them, as the centuries advanced. It was found that persecution failed of effect, but this, instead of causing the rulers to abandon violent measures, only led them, in desperation, to increase them. This was done until they were powerless to continue it, and it became clear that what could not be overcome as an enemy must be attached as a friend.

There were three stages in the persecution: 1. From Nero to Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 54-161. During this time the persecutions, except in case of that by Nero, were not violent, and of but limited area. 2. A. D. 161-251. From Marcus Aurelius to Decius. This was a time of more aggravated opposition on the part of rulers and the Roman people. 3. A. D. 251-313. From Decius to Constantine's Edict of Toleration. This brief period was the culmination of the persecution. The opposition was not only more violent and inhuman than at any previous time, but the territory was broader, and bounded only by the limits of the Roman empire.

The persecution by Nero (A. D. 54-68) proceeded less from antipathy to the Christians specially than from a brutal nature. He placed before himself as an ideal of a great reign the erection of magnificent buildings, which should take the place of the less ostentatious structures in which the city abounded. The evidence is too strong to be resisted that he caused the city to be set on fire in several places (A. D.

OTHER
CHARGES
AGAINST THE
CHRISTIANS.

NUMBER OF
THE PERSECU-
TIONS.

THREE STAGES
OF PERSECU-
TION.

NERO'S PER-
SECUTIONS OF
THE CHRIS-
TAINS.

64).¹ But the conflagration went far beyond his anticipations. Breaking out between the Palatine and Caelian Hills, it raged six days, and when it ceased the larger portion of the city lay in ruins. Ten out of the fourteen districts into which Rome was divided were in whole or part destroyed by the fire. Many of the most revered and historical buildings, such as the Ara Maxima, erected to Hercules, the temple of Luna, the temple of Vesta, Numa's precious palace, and trophies from a hundred battlefields, were sacrificed to the flames.

During the burning of Rome Nero had no higher conception of the seriousness of the occurrence than to regard it as a scenic display, a proper representation of the destruction of Troy. The buildings which he afterward erected did not silence the indignation nor conceal the poverty of his subjects. He was promptly charged with the crime, and, with that readiness in wicked resource which always distinguished him, he took advantage of the popular hostility to the Christians, made them responsible for the fire, and began a persecution of them. His mind, ever fertile of cruel inventions, produced new forms of torture. Christians were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and dogs were set upon them, which tore them to pieces. Some were smeared with inflammable gums and placed at convenient intervals in Nero's garden and set on fire, and thus made to serve the purpose of lamps, while Nero, clad as a charioteer, conducted a chariot race for the delight of the multitude. The persecution was confined to Rome and the vicinity. Nero's interest in destroying the Christians was not a matter of general policy, but satisfied itself with the scenic display for the entertainment of the populace of the capital.²

NERO'S BASE
CONDUCT DURING THE BURN-
ING OF ROME.

The Christians enjoyed peace during the reigns of Vespasian

¹ The testimony of the Roman historians as to Nero's responsibility for the burning of Rome is very pointed. Vid. Tacitus, *Annal.*, xv, 67; Suetonius, *Nero*, 38; Dion Cass., lxi, 16; Pliny, *H. N.*, xvii, 1, 1.

² Besides the original authorities mentioned in the preceding note the best accounts of the Neronian persecution are: Renan, *The Antichrist*, chaps. vi, vii; Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, chap. liv; Schaft, rev. ed., i, § 37; Schiller, *Geschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs unter Nero* (Berl., 1872); Daniell, art. "Nero," in Smith and Wace; Arnold, *Dioneronische Christenverfolgung* (Leipz., 1888), who claims that Nero had no religious interest in the persecution, but used the Christians simply as a pretext, that the Christians were distinguished from the Jews, and that the persecution was purely local; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, pp. 241-259; Wieseler, *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren*, Gütersloh, 1878. See discussions of special points in Fernaux, ed. of Tacitus, *Annals* (Oxf., 1883-91), 2 vols., II. *Zeitschrift*, xxxii, and Weissäcker in *Jahrb. für Deutsche Theol.*, xxi.

and Titus (A. D. 70-81), but during the latter part of Domitian's reign (A. D. 81-96) they were severely persecuted. They had increased greatly in Rome, and, indeed, throughout the empire, and their numbers excited the fears of Domitian. Report, THE DOMITIAN PERSECUTION. had been brought to him that Christ had been of the royal line of the Jews, and that there were still men in Palestine who claimed to be of the same family, and might aspire to the Roman throne. Domitian sent for these men, and, after inquiring of them, and finding them ignorant, and that their hands indicated that they were laborers, let them return home.¹ Domitian charged the Christians with atheism, and, not content with requiring of them the Capitoline tax, a gift for Jupiter Capitolinus, subjected many to martyrdom. He even banished to an island of the west coast of Italy Flavia Domitilla, his niece and the wife of his cousin Flavius Clemens, because of her profession of Christianity. He had slain Flavius himself, but whether on account of his religion we cannot positively say.² This emperor, however, made no systematic effort to persecute the Church.

Under Nerva (A. D. 90-98) the Christians enjoyed a season of comparative rest. During Trajan's reign, however TRAJAN'S PERSECUTION. (A. D. 98-117), they were persecuted anew. That emperor, chagrined at the forces destructive of the national religion, espoused the cause of the old faith. His earnest civic spirit made him anxious that all religions should be suppressed that did not do homage to the State. But his manner of doing this was, on the whole, moderate and conservative. He took pains to see that his Eastern officers of the law should prevent Christian secret meetings, and that compulsory measures should be adopted to make them return to the old religion. The Christians in Palestine were persecuted by the Roman proconsul Tiberianus, who crucified the venerable Simeon, now one hundred and twenty years old, and the head of the Church in Jerusalem.³ In no part of the empire were the Christians making more rapid progress and increasing more rapidly than in Asia Minor. Their strength was a source of great alarm to the authorities in Rome, and special instructions were given

¹ Eusebius, H. E., iii, 19, 20.

² See above and note. Plumptre speaks inexactly when he says (in Smith and Wace, art. "Domitianus") that Eusebius (iii, 18) and the Christian tradition make Flavius Clemens a Christian. The historian speaks only of Domitilla. That in the same connection he should have failed to mention one so near the throne as Flavius, is strong presumptive evidence that the tradition did not bear witness to the latter's conversion.

³ Eusebius, H. E., iii, 32. According to Eusebius, Chron., the date is 106 or 107.

to inquire into their methods and cause them to abandon their faith.

The correspondence between Trajan and his friend Pliny, a proconsul in Asia Minor, furnishes the most remarkable picture of the life of the Christians and the Roman policy that has come down from those times. Pliny thus reported to Trajan :

PLINY'S LETTER TO TRAJAN.

"It is my rule, my lord, to refer myself to you in all my doubts ; for who is more capable of removing my scruples or informing my ignorance ? Having never been present at any trials of the Christians I am unacquainted, not only with the nature of their crimes or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether, therefore, any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult ; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon ; or, if a man has once been a Christian, it avails nothing to desist from his errors ; whether the mere name unattended with crimes, or only the crimes themselves associated with the name are punishable ; in all these points I am greatly doubtful.

"In the meanwhile the method I have observed toward those who have been brought before me as Christians is this : I asked them whether they were Christians ; if they confessed I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time, when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be led away to punishment ; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, that a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved punishment. There were others also brought before me, possessed with the same infatuation ; but being citizens of Rome I directed them to be carried thither. But this crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred. An anonymous paper was presented to me containing a charge against several persons, who, upon examination, denied they were Christians, or had ever been so. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue (which for this purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods), and even reviled the name of Christ ; whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into a doing of any of these things.

"I thought proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some of those who were accused by an informer at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it ; while the rest owned, indeed, that they had been formerly, but had now (some above three, others more, and one even twenty years ago) forsaken that error. They all worshiped your statue and the images of the gods, and cursed Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their guilt or error was that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and sang antiphonally a hymn to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purpose of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery ; never to falsify their word nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up. After which it was their custom to separate and then to reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I prohibited fraternities (*hætericæ*). After re-

ceiving this account I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavor to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were called deaconesses (*ministres*); but I could discover nothing more than a depraved and excessive superstition.

"I thought proper, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings in this affair in order to consult with you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, this inquiry having already extended, and being still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages and even of both sexes. For the contagion of this superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the villages and in the country. Nevertheless, it still seems possible to remedy this evil and restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were almost deserted, begin now to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are again revived, while there is a demand for fodder for the victims, for which previously hardly a buyer was to be found. From hence it is easy to imagine what numbers might be reclaimed if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent."

Trajan replied as follows :

"The method you have pursued, my dear Secundus, in the proceedings against those Christians who were brought before you, is extremely proper, as it is not possible to lay down any fixed plan by which to act in all cases of this nature. They are not to be searched for. If, indeed, they are accused and convicted, they must be punished, with this restriction, however, that when the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Anonymous accusations ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to our times."¹

This celebrated rescript (about A. D. 112) laid down the general principles on which the Roman emperors proceeded until the persecution of Severus, A. D. 202. It was moderate, yet uncompromising. The Christians were not to be sought out, but when once fairly and legally proved guilty of Christianity they were to be punished. The mode and extent of the punishment were apparently left to the discretion of the governor, but with the understanding that continued profession of the Name merited death. This was the first legal declaration against the Christians as such. Besides the supposed incompatibility of their religion with the spirit of patriotism, we know that Trajan had a mortal dread of all secret societies

LIMITS OF
TOLERATION
UNDER THIS
RESCRIPT.

(*heteriæ*), as he would not allow even the formation of a fire brigade in Bithynia. The secret meetings of the Christians made them thus especially obnoxious to the State. Trajan, however, ordered no persecution, and the fact that the later apologists referred the persecuting emperors to his

¹ Pliny, Ep., 96, 97.

humane policy, and even to this decree as a safeguard against injustice,' would seem to prove that no general distress was inflicted upon them in his reign, or that at least comparatively few suffered death. Professor Ramsay has thoroughly investigated Trajan's relation to the Church, and his conclusion seems justified that, while Trajan stood squarely on the principle that the Christian religion was opposed to the genius of the Roman State, and as such must be put down, in interpreting this principle great moderation must be observed, even to the extent of requiring Pliny "to shut his eyes to the Christian offense, until his attention was expressly directed to an individual case by a formal accuser, who appeared openly to demand the interference of the imperial government against a malefactor." Trajan inaugurated a milder policy. It was the "first step in the *rapprochement* between the empire and the Church."² The later legend represented the emperor admitted to heaven by the prayers of Gregory the Great, and Dante beheld his soul in the sixth heaven.³ This legend also found embodiment in art. It is sculptured on the Doge's Palace, and worked on the tapestries of Berne.⁴

Under Hadrian (A. D. 117-138) there was a continuation of a tolerant policy. Christianity was placed on much the same basis as all the new faiths, and suffered neither less nor more than any other, except the national. The Christians, being subjected to popular anger and in danger at any time of death, were protected by imperial favor, and proconsuls were ordered to inflict punishment on them only when charges were brought in legal form and supported by reliable testimony.

CHRISTIANS
UNDER HA-
DRIAN.

Hadrian's letter to Minucius Fundanus is very similar in tone to Trajan's to Pliny, and may even be considered more favorable to the Christians.⁵ Hadrian looked with equal contempt on all religions—

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, ii. Comp. Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 33. Later Trajan's fairness was interpreted as actual toleration—a grievous error. See Sulp. Sev., ii, 31; Orosius, vii, 12.

² The Church in the Roman Empire: Before A. D. 170 (Lond. and N. Y., 1893, pp. 196-223). This is a work written on fresh lines and with admirable spirit and fine scholarship. Comp. Plummer, *Church of the Early Fathers*, pp. 165-168; Daniell, art. "Trajanus," in Smith and Wace; Hardy's notes in his ed. of Pliny's *Epistles*.

³ *Parad.*, xx, 44.

⁴ Daniell, *l. c.* Arnold, *Studien zur Geschichte der plinianischen Christenverfolgung*, Königsberg, 1897, has gone into this subject with zeal, and his conclusions are of great interest.

⁵ There is no reason to consider this rescript spurious. It is given by Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 10, Justin M., I *Apol.*, chap. lxviii. The objections of Keim, Overbeck, and McGiffert rest on a misinterpretation of *κατὰ τὴν δέσπαινον τοῦ*

money is at the bottom of all.' He said to Minucius Fundanus: "I have received an epistle, written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me that the matter should be passed by without examination, lest the men be harassed and opportunity be given to the informers for practicing villainy. If, therefore, the inhabitants of the province can clearly sustain this petition against the Christians so as to give answer in a court of law, let them pursue this course alone, but let them not have recourse to men's petitions and outcries. For it is far more proper, if anyone wishes to make an accusation, that you should examine into it. If anyone therefore accuses them and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, do you pass judgment according to the heinousness of the crime. But, by Hercules! if any bring an accusation through mere calumny, decide in regard to his criminality, and see to it that you inflict punishment."²

Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138-161) was of humane character, and disposed to oppose the popular hostility to the Christians. But during his reign there was great suffering throughout the empire. Floods, famine, and pestilence united to produce widespread misery in every class of society. The inference of the people was that the gods were angry because Christians were allowed to practice their faith in the empire. The emperor did not regard Christians in the same light, but was not able to protect them from the brutal opposition of the people.³

We now come to the stage of more decided hostility. Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161-180) belonged to the better class of pagan emperors and thinkers. He professed a sincere attachment to the Stoic philosophy, and yet claimed strict adherence to the national religion. He looked upon Christianity as *ἀμαρτήματος*, which does not necessarily refer to other moral and political offenses, but may just as naturally be taken as indicating the Name itself. Funk (Tüb. Theol. Quar., 1879) makes an able argument for genuineness. Ranke maintains the same.

¹ Unus illis deus nummus est.—Hadrian, Ep. ad Servianum, ap. Vopiscum, Vita Sev., 8.

² Eusebius, H. E., iv, 9, McGiffert's translation. Renan gives a brilliant review of Hadrian's reign in its Christian aspects in his Christian Church, chaps. i-iii. He, and also Neander, holds to the genuineness of this rescript.

³ The Epistle of Antoninus to the Common Assembly of Asia is spurious (against Lardner and Wieseler). It is quoted, from variant copies, in Eusebius, iv, 13, and Justin Martyr, I Apol., chap. lxviii. But this emperor did write, as Eusebius says, "to the Larissæans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks, forbidding them to take new measures against us" (iv, 26). He continued the policy of Trajan.

fanaticism and superstition, and regarded it as detrimental to the State and hostile enough to be suppressed by violent measures. He devised a policy for the suppression of Christianity, and ordered Christians to be found out and exposed and put to death. He exhibited a singular bitterness toward Christianity and despised the very resignation and humility of the Christians. The persecution which he inaugurated varied in intensity, but extended in reality over every part of the empire. A pestilence, which raged with great fury from Ethiopia in the south to Gaul in the northwest, was made a pretext for persecution, on the ground that the Christians had provoked the wrath of the gods. In A. D. 166 or 167 Smyrna became the center of a persecution to which the aged Polycarp fell a victim. When urged to renounce his faith he made this noble reply: "Eighty-six years I have served Christ, and he has done me no harm; how could I now blaspheme my King, who has redeemed me?" Only a year before, in 166, Justin the Martyr had died in the persecution at Rome.

In 177 the churches in Lyons and Vienne, in France, suffered severely. The details of this persecution have come down to us through a letter written by the churches in these cities to their brethren in Asia Minor, a beautiful specimen of the intensity of Christian love and the firmness of fraternal bonds in a time of universal sorrow.¹ The literature of the Church does not furnish a better illustration of that sympathy which the Christians of one region felt toward their far-off fellow-sufferers than we find in this outpouring of the soul by the Christians in Gaul to their fellow-sufferers in Asia Minor. It was the beginning of that tide of blood and deep affliction and bitter suffering which has flowed at intervals in France during fourteen centuries, from the days of Marcus Aurelius down to Charles IX.

It was during this reign that the legend of the Thundering Legion arose. It was believed that while the emperor was leading an army against the Marcomannians and Quadians, and it was suffering from extreme thirst and in danger of immediate attack, the soldiers of the twelfth legion, all of whom were Christians, prostrated themselves in prayer; that a sudden thunderstorm arose and burst in such fury above the enemy as to terrify them, and yet to furnish water to refresh the Roman army; that, as a result, a great victory was gained by Marcus Aurelius and his soldiers, and that the emperor thereafter ceased to persecute the Christians.²

¹ This letter is quoted in full by Eusebius, H. E., v, 1.

² See Eusebius, H. E., v, 6; Tertullian, Apol., v; the forged letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate appended to Justin Martyr, I Apol., chap. lxxiii; also Dio Cassius, lxxi, 8, and Capitolinus, Vita Marc. Aur., xxiv.

Beneath the fancy there is a basis of historical fact. The battle did take place, and it was a great victory for the Romans; besides, there was a sudden rain, which refreshed the thirsty army. But Marcus Aurelius persecuted the Christians afterward as before; he had a medal struck, in which Jupiter is represented as hurling thunderbolts on the enemies, and the Thundering Legion had been called by that name ever since the time of Augustus. That there were Christians in that legion who, in their extremity, prayed to God: that they fought with bravery; that they regarded the victory as the fruit of their prayers, and told it to their companions in faith on their return from battle; and that all this should enter into all later Christian art, and become a thread with which to weave a beautiful belief in an age that had so little to cheer and please, is at once probable and natural.¹

Commodus (A. D. 180-192) was influenced by a woman of his court, Marcia, to put an end to the persecution of the Christians; but they were ill-treated in various parts of the empire, chiefly through the cruelty of the proconsuls, who continued of their own accord the policy of Marcus Aurelius. The recently discovered Greek Acts of the Martyrs of Scilla reveals some of the slaughter of Commodus's reign. Some charged with magic suffered in Carthage, and the martyrs of Madaurus belong here; also Apollonius, whose most important Acts and Apology were first brought to the attention and study of European scholars by Conybeare in 1894.² Septimius Severus (A. D. 193-211) was, at the beginning, favorable to the Christians, owing, it was believed, to a Christian slave, Proculus, who had healed him with oil from a dangerous illness.³ But he soon fell into the path of Marcus Aurelius. The Christians were commanded to renounce their faith, and severe penalties were threatened on any who should become Christians.

The bitterness was so intense that a large part of the Church

¹ The best recent discussions are Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i, 469-476. Aubé, *Hist. des Persécut.*, first series, chap. viii, pp. 364-372, and Stokes, *Thundering Legion*, in *Smith and Wace*, iv, 1023. These scholars furnish a searching criticism, but agree in allowing a modicum of fact in the story. On the relation of Marcus Aurelius to Christianity, see Renan, *Marcus Aurelius*, the seventh part of his brilliant and learned work on the Origins of Christianity; Paul Barron Watson, *Marcus Aurelius* (N. Y., 1884), who gives a favorable view of the emperor; Farrar, *Seekers After God*, pp. 295-301; Capes, *Age of the Antonines* (Lond. and N. Y., 1876); and the histories of the Roman empire.

² See Geerres, *Das Christenthum und der römische Staat zur Zeit des Kaiser Commodus*, in *Jahrb. für Prot. Theol.*, 1884, II, 2; Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity* (Lond., 1894), an indispensable work.

³ James v, 14. Tertullian, *ad Scapul.*, 4.

regarded Septimius Severus as the antichrist. In Alexandria the father of Origen was beheaded; the beautiful and pure Potimiana, with her mother Marcella, was destroyed in burning pitch; Perpetua, from the nobility, and Felicitas, a slave, were torn to pieces by wild beasts (A. D. 203). These are only single examples of a persecution which raged in various parts of the Roman empire, but especially in Egypt and the whole of North Africa.¹ During Caracalla's reign (A. D. 211-217) there was some continuance of opposition to Christianity, but rather as an effect from the preceding reign than from any measures of the reigning emperor. Elagabalus, Syrian sun god (A. D. 218-222), was so called because of his adoption of the Syrian worship of the sun. He regarded all religions, save that of Syria, as of equal worthlessness, but tolerated Christianity as being at least Syrian. He erected on the Palatine mount a temple to the sun god of Syria, in which the service was a mixture from many faiths.

CARACALLA
AND ELAGABALUS.

Most important was the work of Caracalla in conferring the franchise on every person not a slave in the Roman empire. "A most grateful and humane deed," says Augustine.² No more could Christians be crucified, unless they were slaves, nor thrown to the wild beasts. They suffered by the sword at last, and all their tortures were such as might by equal right befall any citizen of Rome who transgressed the mandate of the emperor. Thus martyrdom, instead of the obstinacy of an abject alien superstition, became the bold and cheerful resistance of free citizens to the arbitrary will of one who, when he began to torture, became a barbarous tyrant."³ Alexander Severus (A. D. 222-235) carried this eclecticism still further, and treated Christianity as a religion of equal value and worthy of a place with the national and other religions. Maximinus (A. D. 235-238) persecuted the Christians in certain localities, but more particularly in Pontus and Cappadocia, where a violent and destructive earthquake was attributed to their presence. During the reigns of Gordianus (A. D. 238-244) and Philip the Arab (A. D. 244-249) the Christians enjoyed peace and greatly increased in number and popular favor. The report even went so far as to say that Philip himself was a Christian. There is in fact little doubt that he did penance before a bishop, perhaps under the vague desire to propitiate even

ECCLECTICISM
OF ALEXAN-
DER SEVERUS.

¹ J. J. Muller and Goerres have made elaborate investigations into the state of the Church in the reign of Alexander Severus, the former in his *Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Severus*, Zürich, 1874, and the latter in his *Kaiser Alex. Severus und das Christenthum*, Leipz., 1877.

² *De Civ. Dei*, v, 17.

³ Birks, in Smith and Wace, i, 403.

the Christian's God. But there is no sufficient evidence to believe that he made any formal profession of Christianity, and it is true that he still continued in all the pagan rites.¹

The final and most bitter period of persecution began with the reign of Decius (A. D. 249-251). He gave minute attention to the destruction of the Christians, and hoped to put an end to the Church. His purpose was to restore the old polytheism to its former glory. It had declined, and was losing its hold. It must, he thought, be brought back again to its place of honor, when it reflected its splendor on the whole empire. Christianity was considered the only thing that stood in its way, and, therefore, it must

DECIAN PERSECUTION. be eradicated. The bishops were held to be chief offenders, and were put to death remorselessly.

Such men as Fabianus, Bishop of Rome; Babylas, Bishop of Antioch; and Pionius, presbyter of Smyrna, were among the victims. All property belonging to Christians was confiscated, they were ordered to worship at heathen temples, and refusal to comply was punished with death. Decius was impeded in his persecution by a foreign war, and his cruelty was terminated by his sudden death.²

Gallus (A. D. 251-253) continued the persecution on the ground that the national calamities were due to the presence of Christians.

Valerian (A. D. 253-260) was very favorable to the Christians at the beginning, but afterward adopted a policy of violent persecution. In the fourth year of his reign he issued an edict that all bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be put to death, that all Christian senators and knights should be stripped of their office and property, and, in case of refusal to adopt the national religion, should be beheaded.³

Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, were among the victims to his fury. Gallienus (A. D. 260-268) was friendly to the Christians. He declared that all forfeited property should be restored to the Christians, and that such bishops as had only been banished should be restored.

Eusebius says that by public proclamation he recognized Christianity as a religion to be tolerated, and he gives a copy of a rescript of his to some Egyptian bishops declaring that they must be un-

¹ Eusebius, H. E., vi, 34, with notes by McGiffert. St. Chrysostom, *De St. Babylas e. Gentis*. No heathen historian mentions this. For discussions, see Tittemont, *Hist. des Emp.*, iii, 494, f., and Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, ii, 51. Daniell gives an excellent summary of the evidence on both sides in Smith and Wace, s. v. Aubé is a recent able defender of the tradition (*Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Rom.*, Paris, 1881).

² For the Decian persecutions, see Eusebius, H. E., vi, 39-44, the Epistles of Cyprian and his treatise *De Lapsis*.

³ Cyprian, Ep. 80.

molested. This was the first distinct recognition of the Christian religion as a *religio licita*.¹ The rescript is as follows: "The Emperor Cæsar Publius Licinius, Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinna, Demetrius, and the other bishops. I have ordered the bounty of my gift to be declared RESCRIPT OF
PUBLIUS LICIN-
IUS. through all the world that they may depart from the places of religious worship [that is, that the heathen may leave the Christians in peaceable possession of their houses of worship—the first recognition of the right of the Christians to hold property]. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my rescript [*ἀντι-γραφή*, a private notice, instead of *πρόγραμμα*, or *προγραφή*, a public proclamation] that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do has already for a long time been conceded by me in previous edicts. Therefore Aurelius Cyrenius, who is the chief administrator of affairs, will observe this ordinance which I have given."

Aurelian (A. D. 270-275) was also favorable to the Christians. It was currently believed that, at the end of his reign, he issued an edict against the Christians, but if so it DIOCLETIAN
PERSECUTION. caused no suffering. The murder of Aurelian put an end to any possible opposition. There was no settled government until A. D. 284, when Diocletian ascended the throne, with Maximian, in 286, as his associate, the latter ruling over the West and the former over the East. In 292, for the better suppression of sedition, two subordinate emperors were called to assist the principal rulers—Galerius, to aid in the government of the East, and Constantius Chlorus in the West. Diocletian was the most statesmanlike spirit of the four, and he was goaded on by the dark fanaticism of Galerius. Both were bitter opponents of Christianity, on the ground of its great progress as a competitor of the State religion. No doubt Galerius disliked its rebuke of his vices. A systematic effort was made to restore the old faith, which was considered the only sure support of the State. The court was united in this view, and every measure that promised the ruin of Christianity was adopted with ardor and carried out with energy.

Diocletian inaugurated a general persecution in 303, when all assemblies of Christians were forbidden and churches were DIOCLETIAN'S
FOUR EDICTS. ordered to be torn down. Four different edicts were issued, each excelling the preceding in intensity. One edict ordered the burning of every copy of the Bible—the first instance in history when the Scriptures were made an object of attack. It also

¹ Eusebius, H. E., vii, 13. Comp. Mason, in Smith and Wace, s. v. Gallienus; Goerres, in Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1877, pp. 606, f.

provided that all churches, which in the good times after Gallienus had been rapidly built, should be demolished, and that all Christians should be deprived of civil rights, thus opening to their vision the horrors of torture. Another edict provided for the imprisonment of all preachers, while the last, issued by Maximian and Galerius, required all Christians, on pain of death, to sacrifice to the gods. Diocletian himself was heartily opposed to extorting the death penalty. He and Maximian abdicated (305), and their subordinates, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, reigned in their stead. Now was the chance of the fanatical and vicious Galerius, upheld and even surpassed by his nephew, Maximin Daza, whom he made Cæsar. A new edict was issued in 308, and a reign of horrors ensued in the East. It was in these fateful years that the real terrors of the so-called Diocletian persecution were felt. The Christians suffered everything which ruthless tyrants could inflict. On his deathbed, lashed by mortal fears, Galerius issued an edict of toleration, April 30, 311, thinking, it may be, to buy the favor of the Christians' God. It was signed also by Constantine and Licinius. After an adulatory superscription the decree reads :

EDICT OF TOL-
ERATION BY
GALERIUS.

"Among the other things which we have ordained for the public advantage and profit, we formerly wished to restore everything to conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to provide that the Christians also, who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors [that is, of their old Roman forefathers], should return to a good disposition. For in some way such arrogance had seized them, and such stupidity had overtaken them, that they did not follow the ancient institutions which possibly their own ancestors had established [the old pagan religion], but made for themselves laws according to their own purpose, as each one desired, and observed them, and thus assembled as separate congregations in various places. When we had issued this decree that they should return to the institutions established by the ancients, a great many submitted under danger, but a great many, being harassed, endured all kinds of death. And since many continue in the same folly, and we perceive that they neither offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due, nor pay regard to the God of the Christians [many deterred by the persecutions], in consideration of our philanthropy and our invariable custom, by which we are wont to extend pardon to all, we have determined that we ought most cheerfully to extend our indulgence in this matter also ; that they may again be Christians, and may rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble, on the condition that nothing

be done by them contrary to discipline. In another letter we shall indicate to the magistrates what they have to observe. Wherefore, on account of this indulgence of ours, they ought to supplicate their God for our safety and that of the people and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes."¹

The demoniac Maximin Daza still continued his bloody deeds; but he too was soon compelled to own his defeat and withdraw his exterminating edicts.² Constantinus Chlorus, a man of TOLERATION
BY CON-
STANTINUS CHLO-
RUS. broad and tolerant mind, the father of Constantine, ordered an immediate cessation of all repressive measures throughout his lands.³ Constantine (306-337) was the first Roman emperor to declare full and final toleration to the Christians. This Edict of Toleration, issued at Milan in 313, declared Christianity to be a *religio licita*, and of equal rights and privileges with all other faiths. His edict of 323 gave it still higher rank in the empire, making it in reality the religion of the State. We give here a copy of the celebrated edict of 311, the first in history to grant complete religious toleration:⁴

"When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview in Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonweal, it seemed to us that amongst those things that are profitable to mankind in general the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to

¹ This decree is found in Latin in Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, xxxiv. and in Greek in Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii, 17; both substantially the same. We have followed Eusebius (McGiffert), which was probably the form in which the proclamation was circulated in the East. McGiffert's interpretation of τῶν γονέων τῶν ἑαυτῶν τὴν αἵψαν, *parentum suorum sectam*, as against Mason and others, is undoubtedly correct.

² For this last great struggle between heathenism and Christianity, see Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii and ix, *passim*; Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, xxxix-1; Gibbon, chap. xiii; Preuss, *Kaiser Diokletian und seine Zeit*, Leipz., 1869; Vogel, *Der Kaiser Diokletian*, Gotha, 1857; Mason, *The Diocletian Persecution*, Cambridge, 1876; Allard, *La Persécution de Diocletien et le Triomphe de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1890—a very thorough study; Carr, *The Church and the Roman Empire* (Lond. and N. Y., 1887, chaps. ii, iii).

³ See an able essay by Goerres on the religious policy of Constantius I in *Zeitsft. Theologie*, 1887, H. I.

⁴ This edict is extant in two forms: the original Latin in Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, xlviii, and Greek translation in Eusebius, *H. E.*, x, 5. We follow Lactantius as the briefer and more literal, in the excellent translation of Fletcher, in the *Ante-Nicene Library* (N. Y., Christian Literature Co., 1886).

follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to everyone under our government. And therefore we judged it a salutary measure, and one highly consonant to right reason, that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, and thus the supreme Divinity, to whose worship we freely devote ourselves, might continue to vouchsafe his favor and beneficence to us. And accordingly we give you to know that without regard to any conditions in our former orders concerning the Christians, all who choose that religion are to be permitted,

CONSTANTINE'S
EDICT OF TOL-
ERATION.

freely and absolutely, to remain in it, and not to be in any way disturbed or molested. And we thought fit to be thus special in the things committed to your charge, that you might understand that the indulgence which we have granted in matters of religion to the Christians is ample and unconditional, and perceive at the same time that the open and free exercise of their respective religions is granted to all others as well as to the Christians. For it befits the well-ordered state and the tranquillity of our times that each individual be allowed, according to his own choice, to worship the Divinity; and we mean not to derogate aught from the honor due to any religion or its votaries. Moreover, with respect to the Christians, we formerly gave certain orders concerning the places appropriated for their religious assemblies; but now we will that all persons who have purchased such places, either from our exchequer or from anyone else, do restore them to the Christians, without money demanded or price claimed, and that this be performed peremptorily and unambiguously; and we will also that they who have obtained any right to such places by form of gift do forthwith restore them to the Christians: reserving always to such persons, who have either purchased for a price or gratuitously acquired them, to make application to the judge of the district, if they look on themselves as entitled to any equivalent from our beneficence.

“All those places are, by your intervention, to be immediately restored to the Christians. And because it appears that, besides the places appropriated to religious worship, the Christians did possess other places, which belonged not to individuals but to their society (*corpori*) as a whole,¹ that is, to their churches, we comprehend all such within the regulation aforesaid, and we will that you cause them all to be restored to the society of churches, and that without hesitation or controversy; provided always that the persons

¹ A recognition of the right of the Church, as a corporation, to hold property.

making restitution without a price paid shall be at liberty to seek indemnification from our bounty. In furthering all these things for the behoof of the Christians you are to use your utmost diligence to the end that our orders be speedily obeyed, and our gracious purpose in securing the public tranquillity promoted. So shall that divine favor which in affairs of the mightiest importance we have already experienced continue to give success to us, and in our successes make the commonweal happy. And that the tenor of this our gracious ordinance may be made known unto all, we will that you cause it by your authority to be published everywhere."

This edict, says Lactantius, was directed to the "president of the province."

The policy of persecuting Christianity in order to destroy it had now undergone a trial of nearly three centuries, and had entirely failed. Often declared by imperial edict as hostile to the State, it was at last pronounced a necessity to the State, and paganism, the religion of the pagus, or country village, was thrown into the background.¹

¹ On the persecutions in general, and the relation of the Church to the Roman State, besides the works already mentioned, see Neumann. *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diokletian*, Leipz., 1890, a most valuable investigation; Plehwe, *Die Christenverfolgungen der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Berl., 1880; Réville, *Die Religion zu Rom unter den Severen*, Leipz., 1888; Allard, *Hist. des Persécutions pendant les deux premiers Siècles d'après les documents archéologiques*, Paris, 1885; and the same author's *Les Dernières Persécutions du troisième Siècle* (under Decius, Gallus, and Valerian), Paris, 1887; Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome: the Provinces*, 2 vols., N. Y., 1857; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, vol. vii, Paris, 1835; Adlis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, Lond., 1893, chap. iii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITERARY ATTACK.

THE opposition to Christianity was twofold. Not content with inflicting physical penalties, both Jews and pagans entered the field of literature with the common purpose of preventing the new religion from securing a firm place in the domain of thought. One peculiar characteristic of Christianity commanded the respect of all thinking opponents, and at the same time inspired their dread, lest this new phenomenon from the Jewish provinces might gain a recognition as an important intellectual development. Reluctant as their opponents were to admit it, the Christians possessed the treasure of a unique and venerable literature. The first century did not close without the fact becoming apparent to both the Greek and Latin mind that Christianity, far from being a wild outgrowth of the warm oriental imagination, had such ancient records as formed the positive groundwork of its entire creed.

It was clear that these writings were at total variance from all the ethnic religions, in that they were based on historical events, and not on legendary traditions; that they dealt with fundamental moral themes; that they diverged radically from the speculative methods of the philosophic schools by asserting their doctrines with masterful positiveness; that the people professing these doctrines had never grown weary of them through the twenty centuries of their history; that out of these writings there had been evolved a new and larger faith, with all the strong support of heroic characters and of a central figure who asserted his own divinity and whose disciples were multiplying in all lands; and that the older writings, going farther back than Homer, and presenting a cosmogony more consistent than that of Hesiod, were supplemented by new treatises, which were more original in conception, clear in method, and aggressive in spirit than any known to the pagan literature. The men who saw most deeply into the times became convinced that something more was necessary than an imperial edict against an illicit faith and the banishment or death of its adherents.

The two methods of opposition went side by side. During the

time that the proconsuls declared the forfeiture of property and personal violence the writers attacked the documents and analyzed the motives of the Christians, and did not hesitate to misrepresent their moral character. The people were fast falling away from attendance at the temple service, and exhibited a growing indifference toward the priesthood and that now disenchanting mythology which underlay their hold upon the popular mind. In the eastern parts of the Roman empire such was the small number of worshipers in some of the older and greater temples that the alarm reached Rome itself, and became a ground of fear to the makers, not less than to the administrators, of the laws. In addition to the loss to the number of pagan worshipers by the withdrawal of Christians, there were as many, in all probability, who did not profess Christianity and yet were influenced into indifference by the Christian example, and held aloof from all interested observance of the pagan rites. The whole social atmosphere was pervaded by a chilliness toward the old faith, and while the people, apart from the influence of Christianity, had begun to grow tired of paganism, as a political factor it was regarded as a necessity for the existence of the State. When a faith loses its moral power, and is only upheld by the poor claim that the country needs it for its own perpetuity, its days are numbered.

DECLINE OF
PAGANISM.

Such was now the hopeless condition of paganism. It was not defended, by its warmest friends, on moral grounds. Through all their attacks upon Christianity we read but one plea for it—the empire must sustain it for its own life. With great force the apologists retorted: Your own writers have revealed its hollowness as a vital and pure system, and how can that be good for the State which is destitute of these essential internal qualities for the individual? We here find a critical literature which greatly aided the work of the apologetical writers. They did not see about them a robust and aggressive paganism, rearing new temples, endowing them with larger wealth, and sending heralds into the remote provinces for the organization of new pagan societies. The question was not of advance, but how to keep the existing possession. The apologists, therefore, had the large advantage of contending with a religion which was growing more decrepit every year in the very face and by the admission of its warmest devotees.

THE QUESTION
WITH PAGAN-
ISM ONE OF EX-
ISTENCE.

The Jewish writers against Christianity were few in number, the downfall of their nation having destroyed all disposition to encounter so vigorous an antagonist. No work or name of a writer has been preserved, and, with the single exception of the notorious book *Toledoth Jeschu*, which Voltaire has vainly attempted to clothe

with historical importance as the first literary attack on Christianity,¹ not even the title of a Jewish work against the Christian faith has come down to our times. The only proof we have of Jewish writings against Christianity is to be found in such references to them as may be found in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, in Tertullian's work Against the Jews, in occasional allusions in several of Cyprian's works, and in the repeated declarations of Origen that he had himself disputed with the Jews.²

THE NATURE
OF THE JEWISH
ATTACK.

The Jewish attack was confined to the following points: that Jesus did not fulfill in his own person the prophecies of glory, honor, and a kingdom which his disciples claimed to have reference to him; that he was, therefore, not the Messiah; that the Mosaic law is still in force; and that the resurrection was a myth, for the disciples stole the body of Jesus. The whole Jewish opposition, accordingly, was confined to an attack upon the divine character of Jesus and the credulity and deception of his disciples.

There were enough occasional references to Christianity in the Roman and Greek writers to indicate the antagonistic spirit which

ROMAN WRITERS
AGAINST
CHRISTIANITY.

prevailed in the Roman literature of the first two centuries. Tacitus dismisses the whole subject by saying that a certain Christ was the founder of the new sect, that this individual had been crucified by Pontius Pilate, under the government of Tiberius, that Christianity was a deadly superstition,³ and that the Christians were obnoxious to the human race.⁴ Marcus Aurelius Antoninus says that the soul must be ready to leave the body, not, as with the Christians, by a mere obstinacy, but by a well-considered resolve.⁵ Juvenal sneers at Jewish, and by implication at Christian, adoration of the heavens.⁶ Arrian puts in the mouth of his master, Epictetus, a protest against the assumption of the Galileans, that they have no fear of danger, or even of death itself, and that God has created all things in the world. Epictetus attributes the fearlessness of the Christians to madness (*μανία*) and habit (*ἥθος*).⁷

Lucian, while a satirist upon all religions, was especially severe in his invective against Christianity. In three works, the Death of Peregrinus, Alexander or the False Prophet, and True History, he confined himself to an invidious but unmistakable opposition to

¹ Œuvres, i, 69, p. 36. This Middle-age forgery, which every Jew now treats with contempt, Voltaire puts into the first century. See Pick, McClintock and Strong, x, 456.

² Contra Celsum, Lib. i. ³ Exitiabilis superstitio. Ann., xv, 44.

⁴ Odii in genus humanum. Ann., xv, 44.

⁵ Meditations, xi, 3.

⁶ Nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorant. Sat. 14, v, 96. ⁷ Disc., iv, 7.

both the doctrines and the personages of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Of the Christians, he says that they worship the well-known sophist whom they crucified in Palestine, because he introduced new mysteries; that these poor people have gotten it into their heads that their souls and bodies are immortal; and that their first lawgiver has brought them to live like brothers from the moment they throw off the old faith. Either from an examination of the Old Testament Scriptures or hearsay as to their nature, Lucian became acquainted with the miraculous element of the Jewish and gospel history, and parodied the career of Jonah, the walking of Jesus on the Sea of Tiberias, and John's description of the New Jerusalem.¹ In his *Peregrinus Proteus* he represents the Christians, not as criminals or revolutionists, but as simply blindly believing enthusiasts, ready to make any sacrifice for the good of their community—which is exactly the attitude, as Harnack well says,² taken toward them by the indifferent in the last half of the second century.³ The attack of Lucian failed of general impression. It was too veiled in fiction, and too indirect and satirical, to be of great force in the general pagan onslaught.

LUCIAN
AGAINST BOTH
JEWS AND
CHRISTIANS.

We now come to the three Neoplatonists, Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles. They were by far the strongest assailants of early Christianity; and to resist their works was the chief aim of all the leading Christian apologists. Very little was known of the personal history of Celsus, even by his contemporaries. Origen, who refuted him, could say but little more of him than that he was an Epicurean and that he wrote in the former half of the second century. But Origen, else wherein his reply, admits that Celsus entertained Platonic ideas, such as a chief deity, a superintending providence, and the immortality of the soul. The attack of Celsus was directed against the entire foundation of the Christian faith. He assailed the Old Testament, the character of Jesus, and all the great doctrines which constitute the body of the Christian faith. He declared that Jesus was a deceiver; that he was born in lowliness and need; that he announced himself as God; that his mother was a poor woman; that she had improper relations with a soldier, one Panthera; that Jesus lived himself as a slave in Egypt; that he sought his bread in a miserable way; that he gathered disciples about him and deceived them; that all fled in the hour of dan-

CELSUS.

¹ *De Vera Historia*, L. i, Tom. ii, p. 94, f., ed. Reitz; L. ii, pp. 104, 107.

² In Herzog and Plitt, s. v.

³ See Cotterill, *Peregrinus Proteus*, Edinb., 1879. Froude, to whom Lucian was a special favorite, has thoroughly canvassed that sparkling writer's attitude toward paganism and Christianity. See *Short Studies*, iii, 210-240; iv, 282-311.

ger; that some of them turned against him; that his own people put him to death, and that his resurrection was a deception.¹

Porphyry, of Tyre, was born about A. D. 233, and in his early years he bore the Phœnician name of Malchus. He went to Greece, where he studied philosophy, and in his thirtieth year went to Rome, and placed himself under the care of Plotinus. He subsequently removed to Sicily, where he wrote against Christianity. His fifteen books against the Christians dealt largely in thaumaturgy, and in his Life of Pythagoras he attempted to show that the pagan world presented higher magical characters than Jesus. The gospel history was his chief object of attack. He aimed to show that it abounded in contradictions.² Hierocles was a governor of Bithynia, and took active part in the Diocletian persecution. He then wrote a work, *Candid Treatise Against the Christians*, designed to trace a parallel between the magician Apollonius, of Tyana, and Jesus, and with a balance in favor of the former. He, like Porphyry, endeavored to prove many contradictions in the gospel history.³

But no definite idea of the fullness and bitterness of the pagan attack can be secured by an examination of the separate tasks to which the individual writers addressed themselves. Their assault was upon the entire Christian structure. There was a system in their method so thorough and far-reaching that the Christians of the time grasped at once the seriousness of the danger, and lost no time in giving equal breadth to the work of defense.

The charges against Christianity may be reduced to four general divisions: 1. Disloyalty to the State; 2. Philosophical absurdity; 3. False theology; 4. Immorality. Persistent opposition to the

¹ The work of Celsus has been well restored by Keim, with critical remarks of great value, in his *Celsus's Wahres Wort*, Zürich, 1873; also by Aubé, *Hist. des Pers.*, Paris, 1878. Froude has done the same in *Short Studies*, iv, 237-281, preceded and followed by thoughts of his own, some just and true, others false and misleading. See Moeller, of Kiel, in Herzog and Plitt, xi, 101, ff. The date of Celsus's *True Word* is 177 or 178 (Keim). Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Lond. and N. Y., 1886, pp. 253-263), has a fine treatment of Celsus, whom he calls a representative of the Reformed, or Unitarian, paganism.

² Porphyry was rightly regarded by the Christian fathers as a most formidable antagonist. Unfortunately his book against the Christians is lost, except the fragments which can be gathered from his opponents. See Cheetham, in Smith and Wace, s. v.

³ The substance of Hierocles's attack can be obtained from Eusebius's reply to him, ed. by Gaisford, *Euseb. Pamph. contra Hieroclem et Marcellum libri* (Oxf., 1852), and Migne, iv, 795, ff.

Christians was based on their alleged hostility to the State. There is no proof that the Christians were disloyal to the empire. They were obedient citizens, avoiding all share in conspiracies against the existing authorities and paying taxes without murmuring. But, so great was the contrast between their civil life and that of their fellow-citizens, that they presented all the characteristics of a distinct social organization. They had much in common. Their early community of property was regarded as hostile to the general interests of the political body. They were regarded as subjects of that invisible kingdom of which Jesus had spoken, and which was an essential element in their theology. They confessed themselves to be members of the Church, which, to the pagan mind, was accepted as an antagonistic force to the empire. While they paid allegiance to the emperor, their citizenship extended only to the civil ruler; they would not accept him as worthy of divine honors while living, and, after his death, would not take any part in giving him a place in the pantheon. Their disposition was pacific, and, instead of engaging in warfare, except under compulsion, always discouraged warfare, and, when they could, refused military service.¹

LOYALTY OF
THE CHRIS-
TIAN TO THE
STATE.

Celsus declared that so soon as a man became a Christian he adopted a faith hostile to the nation. What, the writers asked, was the Roman empire but the gift of the gods? What was the long history of magnificent triumphs but the reward which the gods had granted in return for observance of the ancestral worship? When the Christians worshiped a foreign god they only invoked the divine wrath and made the State a sufferer by their irreverence and atheism. Even Horace, with reference to a decay in worship, had earlier said:

CELSUS ON THE
PATRIOTISM OF
THE CHRIS-
TIAN.

"Di multa neglecti dederunt

Hesperie mala luctuosæ.

Jam bis Monæses et Pacori manus

Non auspicatos contudit impetus

Nostros; et adjecisse prædam

Torquibus exiguis renidet."²

¹ Watson, *The Ante-Nicene Apologies*, p. 36. The Christians did not entirely refuse military service (*Tertullian, Apol., xlii.*), but their attitude toward war in the first two centuries was almost like that of the Quakers. See *Brace, Gesta Christi*, chap. viii.

² Th' offended gods, in horrors dire,

On sad Italia poured their ire;

The Parthian squadrons twice repelled

Our inauspicious powers, and quelled

Our boldest efforts, while they shone

With spoils, from conquered Romans won.—*Od., L. iii. vi. 7 ff.*

As the long prosperity of the Roman commonwealth was held to be due to the religion of the people, and that religion had proven its right to existence by its achievements, the Christian religion ought not to be allowed to take its place, for it was only a new

REASON OF
THE ABSENCE
OF THE CHRIS-
TIAN FROM
POLITICAL
LIFE.

faith, a thing of a few days.¹ A fundamental reason why the Christians held aloof from political life is to be found in the close relationship between the civil and religious structure of the Roman life. No man could hold office without at the same time engaging in the national religion and declaring fidelity to its priesthood and taking the oaths, or sacramenta, which were enjoined by the religion. The citizen, to bear office, must declare himself a pagan. If he refused office he practically renounced paganism.² Trajan had them in mind as enemies to his rule when he issued an edict against all associations, and even forbade the existence of a fire company in Nicomedia. To the charge of disloyalty there was added that of the uselessness of the Christians to society. They bought no images, paid nothing but the State tax toward sustaining the temple service, did not encourage the arts which thrived from the manufacture of images to the gods, and hence were declared a burden to society. For this reason they should be treated as aliens, whose conduct merits only opposition. Tertullian puts in the mouth of the pagans a single sentence against the Christians, which sums up their entire opposition on the ground of disloyalty and uselessness, "You have no right to exist."³

As the three leading writers against Christianity claimed to be philosophers, and belonged to the Neoplatonic school, it was

ALLEGATION
OF PHILOSOPH-
ICAL ABSURD-
ITY.

natural that they should make philosophy an important factor in their attack. The Christian writers made but little use of philosophy in their argument, for their conception of Christianity was that both the pagan mythology and philosophy, however much they might differ at times, were essential parts of that one whole with which Christianity had nothing in common. Porphyry conceded that there were points of analogy between Christianity and the pagan religion, but claimed that all the great moral ideas in the faith of the Christians were borrowed from the better pagan thinkers. Christianity was declared by him, and by each of the other antagonists, to have no philosophical basis, and to be but a mere outgrowth of superstition and a unskilled imagination. The Christian Scriptures were held to

¹ *Novella religio et ante dies nata prope modum paucos.*

² Tzschirner, *Geschichte der Apologetik*, p. 194.

³ *Non licet esse vos. Apol., iv.*

be untrue because of their unphilosophical accounting for the creation of the world and the relation of man to Deity. The Book of Genesis was held by Celsus to be a poor travesty of the story of Deucalion.¹ Christianity, whether examined in its Old Testament origin or in its New Testament development, had no element of philosophical symmetry and calm speculation, and must therefore be relegated to a place among those faiths which appear for a time as an unaccountable permission of the gods for the misguidance of men. The place of faith in the Christian scheme was really only a recognition of an imaginary force, whose basis was ignorance. Of the Christians Celsus said: "Their universal cry is, 'Why do we need to inquire and examine? Only believe.'"²

The attack on Christianity dealt largely with the Scriptures. When Celsus wrote the New Testament canon had not been collected in its complete state, or at least was not current; but Porphyry and Hierocles, who wrote later, had the full benefit of examining the whole New Testament. No fundamental Christian doctrine escaped the hostility of these writers. Their charges were on this wise: The God of the Christians, so far as he was rightly conceived, has long been known to the pagan mind. All Christian additions to that conception are false notions. The images to the gods are only poor reminders of their presence and majesty.³ The offerings only show the proper human reverence toward them.⁴ The Christians have their angels and subordinate spirits; so have the pagans; the Christians have a superintending Deity; so have the pagans.

CHARGE OF
FALSE THE-
OLOGY.

Wherein, then, is the Christian theology better than the pagan? Where is the history of a great empire to which the Christians can appeal as the fruit of their theology? Look at the absurd stories of their sacred writings. They claim that the world was created in six days, and yet they number several days before the present days were created. They speak of a flood, and a ridiculous box, in which all things sailed and were saved. Their prophecies are not comparable to our own prophetic writings. Daniel was not even written by a man of that name, but by a later deceiver. The Old Testament abounds in contradictions, barbarisms, and solecisms. Your whole doctrine is an "idiotic speech."⁵ Your gospel history begins with legends about Jesus. If you had a God, then what was the use of Jesus being taken to Egypt? Could he not have been

THE CHARGE
THAT THE
CHRISTIAN
THEOLOGY IS
NO BETTER
THAN THE
PAGAN.

¹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. iv.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. i.

³ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. vii.

⁴ Arnobius, L. vii, c. 13.

⁵ *λόγος ἰδιωτικός*, Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. vi.

protected at home? Jesus grew up with the idea of imposture. He devoted himself to witchcraft and deceived the multitude. Even his own countrymen banished him, when he collected a band of ninety men and lived by highway robbery.¹ Why did Jesus weep, and cry, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me?" If you want to find a good character, why did you not take one of ours, such as Hercules, Orpheus, or Anaxarchus? Your apostles were both deceived and deceivers. "You give us nothing but stories," says the Jew in Celsus. "Your apostles were divided in opinion, as one can see in the dispute between Paul and Peter in Antioch. Your whole New Testament, like your Old, is only a tissue of contradictions, which must disappear beneath the blaze of the world's more advanced intelligence."

We now come to the most unaccountable of all the pagan grounds of objection to Christianity. Even Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, gives only faint encouragement to this charge. But the three champions of paganism did not hesitate to charge the Christians with an immoral life. When

THE CHARGE
OF IMMORAL-
ITY.

they came to prove it, however, they failed completely. Cæcilius attempts to show that the secret meetings of the Christians were scenes of revelry and infamy, while their public life had the show of decorum; that they were a secretive and darksome people, silent in public and garrulous in the corners.² The most malicious slanders were circulated as to their proceedings in secret. It was claimed that they ate their victims—a desperate and vile abuse, most likely, of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It was urged that they engaged in a species of personal communism—no doubt a slander derived from the peaceful life of the Christians in their homes and their fraternal spirit in their religious meetings.

How such false reports could be circulated is, to this day, one of the mysteries of this remarkable period. Some suppose that they had their origin, in large measure, from the intense hostility of the Jews, who gave the pagan writers the benefit of their reports. Others hold that apostates from Christianity did commit these very

¹ Lactantius, *Instit. div.*, L. v, c. 3, p. 530, ed. Walch.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, L. vii. To the honor of Porphyry it must be said that he did not share with his associates, Celsus and Hierocles, in their aspersions on the character of Jesus, but attributed to him a pure life, which was rewarded by immortality. Comp. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, L. xix, c. 23, § 2.

³ Cur etenim occultare et abscondere, quidquid illud est, quod colunt, magnopere nituntur, quum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint? nunquam palam loqui, nunquam libere congregari sustinent, nisi illud, quod colunt et interpretantur, aut puniendum est aut pudendum. Minucius Felix, c. 10.—Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publico muta et in angulis garrula.

offenses, and then declared that they were Christian practices, and so misled the pagan writers.¹

We do not believe in the correctness of either theory, but that the pagan writers, knowing well the nameless license practiced in their own Eleusinian mysteries, and even within the temple inclosures at the celebration of the festivities of Venus and other deities, attributed the same deeds to the Christians, knowing that what was not visible could not be readily denied. It might be supposed that the pagan writers, in charging the Christians with immorality, were making such an absurd issue as could be readily refuted. This must be remembered, however: they wrote for pagans, people who were glad to believe the most malicious assertions. They pandered to the popular prejudice and told their readers what the latter were glad to believe. Such an argument, however, could only avail for a short time. The life of the Christians was soon before the world, and beneath its broad and beautiful blaze all slanders must soon disappear. It was part of the penalty which Christians had to pay for an approving conscience and a successful religion.

Such was the method of argument against Christianity on the ground of its scriptural theology. The people for whom the pagans wrote had no acquaintance with the Scriptures, and hence were compelled to accept what was written as a true account of their faith. The arguments had no effect on the Christians themselves, who had at hand their own inspired refutation of them. There is no evidence that any of them were alienated from their faith by any or all the pagan misrepresentations. Little was hoped by even the writers themselves in the way of convincing the Christians. The most they expected was to prevent an increase in the number of Christians. Happily, in this hope they were disappointed.

THE CHARGE
OF IMMORAL-
ITY MADE BE-
CAUSE OF THE
PAGAN LEADI-
NESS TO BE-
LIEVE ANY
ASSERTION.

THE PAGAN AT-
TACK WITHOUT
EFFECT ON THE
CHRISTIANS.

¹ Tzschirner allows these suppositions. See *Geschichte der Apologetik*, p. 217.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS.

WE now come to the more welcome task of considering the method and spirit with which Christian writers met the pagan assault. There were two classes of apologists, the Greek and the Latin, so named according to the territory in which they lived and the language in which they wrote.

TWO CLASSES
OF APOLO-
GISTS.

The following are the Greek apologists: Aristo, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin, Melito, Miltiades, Claudius Apollinaris, Apollonius, Bardesanes, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Theophilus, of Antioch, Tatian, Hermias, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen. The Latin apologists were: Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, and Arnobius. The two classes differed in many important respects. The Greek writers belonged, for the most part, to the second century, and in their writings exhibit a knowledge of the Greek schools of philosophy, which was of great service to them in their work of defense. Some of them had been taught in the schools of pagan learning, and adopted Christianity only in mature years.

GREEK APOLO-
GISTS.

The Latin apologists, not one of whom lived in Rome, belonged to the third century, and had been educated as rhetoricians. They made a more careful use of style in both the framework and development of their writings. Lactantius represents his Latin associates not less than himself when he says that he had cultivated eloquence with great diligence because of its utility in defending true religion.¹

THE LATIN
APOLOGISTS.

The Greek apologists endeavored to prove, against their antagonists, that Christianity was the culmination of all the great religious movements of the world, and that it was a satisfaction of the great aspiration of humanity for the truth and the life. The Latins, on the other hand, presented Christianity in its independent claims, as having no parallels in the ethnic faiths, and fulfilling in itself all that was unsatisfactory in other religions.² The Greek apologists were more purely defensive, because of the novelty and force of the attack.

DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN THE
GREEK AND
THE LATIN
APOLOGISTS.

¹ Div. Instit., I. i.

² Comp. Westcott, Canon, p. 56.

The Latins, coming later, and viewing the assault more in the perspective, were more composed in their method, and often carried the war within the lines of the enemy. The apologies began purely on the defensive, but closed with a triumphant assault upon the whole pagan position.¹

The work at which all the apologists wrought seemed to them only fragmentary, but as we look back upon it we see a singular unity in their labor. As the Cologne Cathedral has been long in building, one generation of architects and artisans succeeding another during the six centuries of toil and incompleteness, until at last we see the complete Gothic structure, in its breadth of plan, massiveness of walls, delicacy of finish, and perfect unity, from the foundation to the highest spires, so do we observe in the building of the first apologetic structure of Christianity a scope in design and unity of execution which, despite the variety of laborers, constitute it still one of the strongest, as it is almost the first, of the theological structures of the Christian ages. Those writers wrought for all times, and in every later period of attack on Christianity the mind of the Church has turned reverently toward its first apologies for encouragement in disturbed theological periods and for weapons of defense against the enemies of the word and the kingdom of God.

Many of the works of these first defenders of the faith have disappeared. In some instances we have only the titles; in others mere fragments, preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and other writers; while in still others there is strong ground for supposing that the

OBIVION OF
THE PAGAN
ATTACKS.

very names of the authors, with their writings, have disappeared from all human records. But no such oblivion has befallen the apologists as has overtaken their opponents. Only a small share of the attacks of the latter have survived, and this only in such fragmentary form as has been incorporated by the apologists in their writings for the purpose of refutation. To the stupendous Christian literature of the apologist, therefore, the first assailants of Christianity are chiefly indebted for their rescue from total oblivion.

We shall content ourselves, so far as the personal life of the apologists is concerned, with the main facts of their history and with their principal contributions to apologetical literature.

¹ Ritter, *Geschichte d. christ. Philosophie*, I, p. 290. Cruttwell gives an excellent analysis of the different classes of apologists in his *Literary Hist. of Early Christianity*, Lond., 1893, vol. i, pp. 277-287; an admirable work, indispensable to every student of historical theology.

The Greek writers come first into view. Aristo, born in Pella, east of the Jordan, was originally a Jew. His Dialogue Between Papiskos and Jason was an attempt to prove from the Old Testament and the exact fulfillment of prophecy the truth of Christianity and the Messiahship of Jesus.¹ Quadratus, Bishop of Athens at the time when Hadrian spent a winter in that city, A. D. 131, addressed an apology to that emperor to cease the persecution of the Christians. According to Jerome his work had great influence in securing milder measures.²

Aristides was a philosopher of Athens, and, on accepting Christianity, became a defender of it. He retained his philosophical method of argumentation, and endeavored to show the resemblance of Christianity to all of worth in paganism. The discovery of the Apology of Aristides is one of the most interesting literary events in recent times. Several valuable monuments of early Christian literature have been brought to light by the researches of Armenian monks among their ancient manuscripts and versions. These include an Armenian version of Tatian and the Apologies and Acts.³ In 1878 the Mechitarist monks of the Armenian convent of San Lazaro, at Venice, published an Armenian translation of the long lost Apology of Aristides. Scholars were doubtful, however, of the authenticity of this work, and waited further confirmations. These were furnished unexpectedly by the discovery, in 1889, by the masterful J. Rendel Harris, in the convent of Saint Catherine, on Mount Sinai, of a Syriac manuscript containing a complete translation of the whole of the Apology. This was in sufficient accord with the Armenian fragment to vindicate the substantial genuineness of the latter. Still stranger than all, when Harris showed the proofs of his Syriac manuscript to J. Armitage Robinson, the editor of the Cambridge Texts and Studies, the latter scholar at once discovered a remarkable similarity to a portion of the History of Barlaam and Josaphat (Josaph), attributed by some to Saint John of Damascus, and published in Migne's edition of the works of that father. The writer or editor of this romance had transferred bodily into his History the Apology of Aristides, as a defense of Christianity, delivered by Barlaam before

ARISTO AND
QUADRATUS.

APOLOGY OF
ARISTIDES.

¹ Celsus had a contemptuous opinion of this Dialogue. He says that it is "worthy not so much of laughter as of pity and indignation" (Origen, *Contra Cels.*, iv, 52). It was translated into Latin by another Celsus, whose Preface is still extant. See Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 6; Routh, *Rel. Sac.*, i, 26; Jerome, *Com. Gal.*, II, iii, 13; Jerome, *Quest. Heb. in Gen.*, II, p. 597; Crutwell, *l. c.*, I, 295.

² See Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 3; Jerome, *De Vir. Illustr.*, 19, Ep. 70.

³ Translated by F. C. Conybeare. See above, p. 172.

the Indian monarch Abenner and his son Joasaph. We have, then, this old Apology in three forms, the Armenian, Syriac, and Greek, with various versions of this last, so that the work of criticism in restoring the real text is not difficult.

Of this Apology Harris well says: "The language and thought of the writer are simple and straightforward; in fact, he is more a child than a philosopher, a child well trained in creed and well practiced in ethics, rather than either a dogmatist defending a new system or an iconoclast destroying an old one; but this simplicity of treatment, so far from being a weakness, adds often greatly to the natural impressiveness of the subject, and gives the work a place by the side of the best Christian writings of his age."¹

The date is 125 (Eusebius) or 138 (Harris). This is the most interesting discovery in Christian literature made since the publication of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.²

Justin, of Flavia Neapolis, near Shechem, the capital of Samaria, went from one school of philosophy to another in a vain search for the truth. Meeting at last with an aged Christian he embraced Christianity, and remained an ardent defender of its doctrines until his martyrdom in Rome about A. D. 165. He wrote two formal apologies against paganism, one about A. D. 147, and addressed to Antoninus Pius; the other about A. D. 148-159, and addressed to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. His object was to show that the Christians were not responsible for the public calamities; that they were not hostile to the State; that the pagan philosophy and mythology abound in falsehood, and that the Scriptures are the only source of truth. His *Trypho* was a discussion, modeled after the dialogues of Plato, designed to prove the truth of Christianity against Judaism.

The works of Justin Martyr are the most important productions of the second century, and go a large way toward filling the void between the apostolic fathers and the great work on Heresies, by Irenæus, in the latter part of the century.³

¹ Cruttwell, *l. c.*, ii, 288-292; Mrs. Helen B. Harris, *The Apology of Aristides: its Doctrine and Ethics*, with translations by J. Rendel Harris, Lond., 1891; edited by J. R. Harris, from Syriac, with Greek text, translations, notes, and appendix, Cambridge, 1892; Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 687; iii, 578.

² Isaac H. Hall, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1891, p. 628.

³ The best book on Justin Martyr is Durven, *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*, N. Y., 1889; a noble monument to American patristic study. See also Semisch, *Justin der Martyrer*, Breslau, 1840-42, 2 vols.; Engelhardt, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märt.*, Erlangen, 1873; the same in Herzog and Plitt; the elaborate article by Holland, in Smith and Wace, 27 pp.;

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century, wrote two apologies, addressed to Antoninus Verus, Marcus, and Commodus. He employed an analytical method, and was called by Tertullian the "Sophist of the Church."¹ MELITO AND APOLLINARIUS. Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, about A. D. 170, addressed an apology to Antoninus Verus, and wrote five books against the Greeks, two against the Jews, and two on 'The Truth.'

Apollonius, though a Roman, and supposed by some to have been a senator, takes rank as a Greek apologist, because his apologetic work was translated early by Eusebius, and the author was classified by that historian among the Greek martyrs.

The defense of Apollonius was published by Eusebius, in his last collection of martyrdoms. Fortunately, a translation APOLLONIUS. was made in the ancient Armenian Church, and this was recovered and given to the world in 1874, by the learned Armenian monks of San Lazzaro, in Venice, and was first published in a European tongue by Conybeare, in 1893. This work is a fresh and living memorial of Christian testimony and heroism, and one of the most interesting of all the remains of antiquity. The creed of Apollonius is simple. What chiefly impresses him is the moral grandeur of Christianity.²

Bardesanes wrote an apology and addressed it to the Greeks. Athenagoras, a native of Athens, was a philosopher, BARDESANES, ATHENAGORAS, AND THEOPHILUS. and, on accepting Christianity, applied his philosophical method in its defense. His principal contribution

Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i, 372-422; Cruttwell, ii, 317-337; and the prolegomena to Otto's edition of his works, and to Harnack and Gebhardt's *Texte und Untersuchungen*. Krüger has given the text of the apologies in handy form for students, *Die Apologien Justin des Märtyrers*, Freiburg, 1891, and Gildersleeve has done the same, with valuable notes, in the *Douglass Series of Ancient Christian Writers*, N. Y., 1877. On his use of the Gospels, see Edwin A. Abbott, in *Modern Rev.*, 1882, pp. 559, 716; and Harman, in *Meth. Rev.*, 1895, p. 81.

¹ See Eusebius, H. E., iv, 26, with notes of McGiffert; Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchrist. Lit.*, Leipz., 1882, *Band i*, pp. 240-278.

² Eusebius, *I. c.*, iv, 27.

³ Eusebius, H. E., v, 21; Jerome, *De Vir. Illustr.*, xlii. The Armenian Publication of 1874 was not noticed by any European scholar until Conybeare printed a rendering into English in the *Guardian* (Lond., June 18, 1890). A copy of this important translation was sent to Harnack, who at once saw the transcendent interest of this primitive fragment, and contributed a learned monograph upon it to the Royal Prussian Academy. The Acts of Apollonius form the real basis of Conybeare's invaluable collection, *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity*, Lond., 1894, which he has made from the Armenian.

to apologetical theology was his Embassy of the Christians (A. D. 176-178).¹ Theophilus, of Antioch, was an educated pagan. He became a Christian through the study of the Scriptures, and wrote apologetical works (A. D. 180), with special reference to the errors prevailing in the Church in his times.²

Tatian was a native of Assyria. He was at first a pagan philosopher, but was converted to Christianity by reading the prophecies, and removed to Rome. In his Address to the Greeks, written before 166, he proved that Greek science was only the growth of the more barbarous nations, and that the truths and exemplars of the Bible are superior to all produced by paganism in its best days. It was a powerful attack, and made a sensation in Rome. He returned to his native country, and died about A. D. 176.³ Hermias wrote in the latter half of the second century. In his Ridicule of Outside Philosophers he showed the

TATIAN AND
HERMIAS.

CLEMENT, HIP-
POLYTUS, AND
ORIGEN.

contradictions of pagan thinkers.⁴ Clement of Alexandria, born probably in Athens, wrote three important works, the *Protreptikos*, or Hortatory Address of the Greeks, the *Pedagogue*, and the *Stromata*, in all of which he exposed the emptiness of paganism.⁵ Hippolytus's great work, *Refutation of All Heresies*, written after 222, is in the nature of an apologetic, as it is a powerful analysis, from a hostile standpoint, of all the heathen systems of theology and philosophy. It was discovered in 1842, in the convent at Mount Athos, by Minoides Minas, who was sent out by M. Abel Villemain, minister of public instruction under Louis Philippe, to search for lost manuscripts. It was carried through the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1851, by a learned Frenchman, M. Emmanuel Miller, who, however, erroneously ascribed it to Origen, misled by the survival of the first book among the genuine works of Origen.⁶

Origen was born A. D. 185, in an unknown place in Egypt, and

¹ Best ed. by Schwartz, Leipz., 1891. Comp. Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 364; Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, 1894, i, 60-81.

² Best ed. by Otto, Jena, 1861. Comp. Cruttwell, *l. c.*, ii, 313, f. Schaff, rev. ed., ii, 732, f.

³ Best ed. by Schwartz, Leipz., 1898. Heft ii contains the commentary. See McGiffert, in the Presb. Rev., x (1889), 142; Schaff, ii, 726-729.

⁴ Tzschirner endeavors to show that this is only a part of a larger work. Comp. *Geschichte der Apologetik*, pp. 259, 260. Best ed. by Otto, Jena, 1872. Singularly enough no translation of this witty, though supercilious, caricature of paganism appears in the Antient Library. It was, however, translated by J. A. Giles, Lond., 1857.

⁵ Best ed. by Dindorf, Oxf., 1869, 4 vols.

⁶ Best ed., Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, or Cruice, Paris, 1860.

was first instructed by his father, Leonides, and afterward by Clement of Alexandria and Ammonius. In his eight books, written about A. D. 250 against Celsus, he examined paganism with the greatest care and minuteness, and exposed its weakness and failure.¹

Tertullian stands at the head of the Latin apologists. He was born in Carthage, had a careful Christian training, and entered upon the work of Christian defense with a zeal which was never interrupted until death. His Apology TERTULLIAN. Against the Pagans, which was written about A. D. 197, is the most brilliant achievement of defensive writing in the early Church. In unity and skill it is a masterpiece. He shows both the futility and injustice of persecution, and proves the error of the charge of atheism made against the Christians. In his Proof of the Soul and Against the Heathen Mythology he proves the unity of God. About A. D. 211 he wrote his book to Scapula, who was a proconsul in Africa, and was very cruel toward the Christians. His book against the Jews was a reply to Jewish arguments, and his book on the Resurrection was a triumphant vindication of the immortality of man.² Minucius Felix, a native of Africa, wrote a work, Octavius, in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a pagan. He is the first Latin apologist, writes with enthusiasm and elegance, modeling his work on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, and sometimes turns a point with the precision of Tacitus. His Octavius was written between 177 and 180, probably at the latter date.³

Cyprian, born in Carthage about A. D. 200, became a Christian about A. D. 244; was bishop of Carthage A. D. 248, and suffered martyrdom A. D. 258. His principal apologetic works CYPRIAN. were: Book to Donatus, The Grace of God, Vanity of Idols, Testimony Against the Jews, and Book to Demetrianus. In these works Cyprian was indebted to the more powerful genius of

¹ Best ed. by Koetschau, Leipz., 1899. See Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 151. On the controversy with Celsus, see Schaft, ii, 89-93, 795; Müller, in Herzog and Plitt, s. v. Origen; John Patrick, The Apology of Origen in Reply to Celsus, Edinb., 1892, a careful and scholarly historical study (v. Critical Review, ii, 321); Cruttwell, l. c., ii, pp. 498-502.

² Best ed., Reifferscheid and Wisowa, Vienna, 1820, ff. Comp. Noeldecken, Tertullian dargestellt, Gotha, 1890; the same author in Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1886, H. ii; and in Hist. Zeitschrift, 1885, H. 5; W. von Hartel, Tertullian, Vienna, 1890. Maurice gives a fine estimate of his character, books, and influence in his Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries, pp. 273-298.

³ Best ed., Dombart, Erlangen, 1882. See also Halm's ed., Vienna, 1867; Chambers, in Presb. Rev., iii (1882), 420; Salmond, in Smith and Wace, s. v., whose views as to the date must be corrected by Keim and Dombart and Ebert.

Tertullian. The Address to Demetrian is one of his most interesting writings. Demetrian, a professor of rhetoric, had pressed the oft-used point that the calamities of the world in its age and decrepitude were to be attributed to the Christian "atheists." In this remarkable passage Cyprian acknowledges that the world is indeed in its decrepitude :

" You have said that all these things are caused by us, and that to us ought to be attributed the misfortunes wherewith the world is now shaken and distressed, because your gods are not worshiped by us. And in this behalf, since you are ignorant of divine knowledge, and a stranger to the truth, you must in the first place know this, that the world has now grown old, and does not abide in that strength in which it formerly stood ; nor has it that vigor and force which it formerly possessed. This, even were we silent, and if we alleged no proof from the sacred Scriptures and from the divine declarations, the world itself is now announcing and bearing witness to its decline by the testimony of its failing estate. In the winter there is not such an abundance of showers for nourishing the seeds ; in the summer the sun has not so much heat for cherishing the harvest ; nor in the spring season are the cornfields so joyous ; nor are the autumnal seasons so fruitful in their leafy products. The layers of marble are dug out in less quantity from the disemboweled and wearied mountains ; the diminished quantities of gold and silver suggest the early exhaustion of the metals, and the impoverished veins are straitened and decreased day by day ; the husbandman is failing in the fields, the sailor at sea, the soldier in the camp, innocence in the market, justice in the tribunal, concord in friendships, skillfulness in the arts, discipline in morals. Think you that the substantial character of a thing that is growing old remains so robust as that wherewith it might previously flourish in its youth while still new and vigorous ? Whatever is tending downwards to decay, with its end nearly approaching, must of necessity be weakened. Thus the sun at his setting darts his rays with a less bright and fiery splendor ; thus, in her declining course, the moon wanes with exhausted horns ; and the tree, which before had been green and fertile, as its branches dry up, becomes by and by misshapen in a barren old age ; and the fountain which once gushed forth liberally from its overflowing veins, as old age causes it to fail, scarcely trickles with a sparing moisture. This is the sentence passed on the world, this is God's law, that everything that has had a beginning should perish, and things that have grown should become old, and that strong things should become weak, and great things become small, and

CYPRIAN ON
THE DECREP-
ITUDE OF THE
WORLD.

that, when they have become weakened and diminished they should come to an end."¹

Cyprian then turns the tables on his opponent with great force, and argues that the pagans, by their idolatry and vice, have sinned away their day, and have brought the world to this pass.²

Arnobius taught rhetoric in his native place, Sicca, Africa, from A. D. 297 to A. D. 310. In his Seven Books of Discussion Against the Pagans he represents the Christians as not responsible for public calamities. He excels all the apologists in the use of the miracles of Jesus as an element of successful ARNOBIOUS AND LACTANTIUS. Christian attack upon paganism. The circumstances under which this work was written were peculiar. Arnobius had been a bitter opponent of the Christians. When he was converted the Bishop of Sicca would not admit him to the Church until he had proved the reality of his conversion by writing a strong defense of his new religion. This he did in this famous book, *Against the Nations*,³ in which the author discloses various erroneous and partial views about Christianity, but at the same time deals heathenism some telling blows.⁴ Lactantius was, probably, an Italian by birth, and a student under Arnobius. He lived in Nicomedia, and wrote his *Divine Institutions*, according to Ebert,⁵ during the persecution of Diocletian, between 307 and 310, and issued a second edition between 318 and 323, and dedicated it to Constantine the Great. He was early called the "Christian Cicero," and excelled all the writers of the early Church in the beauty and skill of his style. It was written for educated readers, and contains not only a strong defense of Christianity, but a luminous exposition of it.⁶ His book on the Deaths of the Persecutors, written in Nicomedia in 314, is of inestimable value as an historical source for the most trying period of the Church's history.⁷

The titles of the works of the apologetic writers will indicate, in the main, the nature of the strong defense which they made. From their works, as a whole, the following may be regarded as their general line of defense and attack:

The apologists answered the charge of treachery by showing that

¹ *Ad Demetrian.*, 3.

² Best ed. of Cyprian, by Hartel, Vienna, 1868-71, 3 vols.

³ *Adversus Gentes, Libri VII* (about 303).

⁴ Best ed. by Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1875.

⁵ In Herzog and Plitt, s. v. See also his *Ueber d. Verfasser d. Buches de Mort. Pers.*, Dresden, 1870.

⁶ Best ed., Fritzsche, Leipz., 1842.

⁷ Best ed., Dübner, Paris, 1879.

the Christians did not evade the taxes, that they rigidly observed all the civil laws of the country, and that, where they refused compliance, it was on the ground of civil compulsion to acknowledge the truth of paganism. The rule of the emperor was respected, but not his divine authority. "You charge us with bringing calamity upon the country by invoking the wrath of your gods," was the Christian retort to the allegation of disloyalty. "You mistake. Your own crimes have brought these calamities from our God. You persecute us, and must suffer for it.¹ Your religion was declining before our Messiah was born in Bethlehem. It had outworn itself."²

The apologists continue: "We never take your law in our hands. True, we do decline the military service where we can, for in doing so we must take your oath (*sacramentum*), and that does not agree with our loyalty to Christ. There is no agreement between the divine and human oath; the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil; the camp of light and the camp of darkness.³ The Christian soldier must quit the service of the State, or his soul must suffer.⁴ When our Lord disarmed Peter he disarmed every soldier.⁵ Why do you not punish people of other faiths as well as us? We are positively the only ones you do persecute for their religion. You have nothing to say against the Trojans, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, or even the grossly idolatrous Egyptians.⁶ You give liberty to worship everything but the one and true God.⁷ You are unjust in the extreme. The Christian citizen is the only man who is not permitted to defend himself or have another speak for him. The mere declaration of his name shuts him out of all mercy. Your motto for us is: '*Confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis.*'"⁸ Why do you not change your laws so as to favor us with equality? Other nations have done it. Sparta changed the laws of Lycurgus, and your emperors have often canceled the edicts of their predecessors.⁹ Nero is the first emperor who persecuted us; and certainly you despise his memory, and yet allow his laws against us to stand. Make us equal with all other citizens before your laws. Why not? We are the only class of citizens who are really free from disloyalty. When have we conspired against your government? Your own idolatrous people are your robbers and assassins and traitors. These dangerous classes never come from Christian homes. You furnish all the criminals."¹⁰

¹ Cyp. ad Demet., c. 3-5.

² Tertul., Apol., c. 40; Cyp. ad Demet.

³ Tertul., De Idol., c. 19.

⁴ Idem, De Coron., c. 11.

⁵ Idem, De Idol., c. 19.

⁶ Just., Apol. i, c. 32; Legat., pp. 1, 2, ed. Col.

⁷ Tertul., Apol., c. 4.

⁸ Idem, c. 2.

⁹ Tertul., Apol., c. 4.

¹⁰ Idem, c. 44, 45.

The appeal to the pagan mind on the ground of elevated Christian morals was earnest and strong. The Christians had nothing to conceal. Their method of argument was chiefly on the line of a pure life being the outgrowth of pure doctrine. They said: "The precepts of Christianity are pure. We counsel charity and peace; we never teach theft or violence; hence our life must answer to our faith.¹ We live a life free from crime and reproach.² We live among you; you can see us every day; we eat the same food with yourselves; we wear the same kind of clothing; we are under the same necessities; we shun not the forum, or shambles, or booth, or workshop, or inn, or market, or any place of commerce.³ Christ taught us peace and good will.⁴ No man can charge us honestly with immorality. If you have the allegation to make we demand the proof.⁵ You persecute us, but we never take the law in our hands; we do not avenge ourselves. Our religion teaches us to be quiet and orderly.⁶ You say we meet with misfortunes; that we are a poor people; that we lead a lowly and despised life. True, we are a lowly people. But you make the complaint that the whole people suffer calamities. Why do you suffer too? Why do your gods let you have these trials? You have about as many trials according to your own confession as we do.⁷ We do not complain. You do, and well you may."

PURITY OF
CHRISTIAN
CHARACTER
AND LIFE.

"Here," say the apologists, "is a department of Christianity where you make bold to attack us; but you have no ground to stand upon. We admit that we use no idols, and we do stay away from your temples.⁸ Your Celsus brings it against us as a crime that we cannot endure the sight of your temples, altars, and statues to the gods.⁹ To this we plead guilty. We cannot do otherwise. We have but one God, and him only; will we serve.¹⁰ Your charge of corrupt, secret worship is puerile and false. Why do you not prove it, at least in some one case? Until you do this the world must see that your allegation has no basis. Our private worship is like our public life. Let the laws grant us liberty of worship and we shall not be compelled to worship in the obscure places."

EXCELLENCE
OF CHRISTIAN
WORSHIP.

The apologists made large use of the Scriptures as a divine authority. They placed them beside the pagan systems of philosophy,

¹ Just., Apol., 14-17; Theoph. ad Autol., iii, 9-15.

² Lactant., Div. Inst., v, 9.

³ Tertul., Apol., c. 42.

⁴ Just., Apol., c. 13.

⁵ Athenag., c. 11, 12.

⁶ Just., Apol., i, c. 12.

⁷ Arnob., Advers. Gentes., L. ii, c. 76, 77.

⁸ Lactant., Div. Inst., ii, 2, 4.

⁹ Orig., Contra Celsum, vii, 62.

¹⁰ Idem, viii, 21; Lactant., Div. Inst., ii, 2; Min. Felix, Octavius, c. 6.

and were confirmed in their full faith in the excellence of their own inspired writings. Justin, Origen, Theophilus, and Lactantius were the only apologists who made extensive use of the Old Testament; but nearly all the Christian writers touched upon prophecy as a proof of the divine origin of the Old Testament. The Old Testament is harmonious throughout. Even where immorality in God's erring children is mentioned, it is only with condemnation of wrongdoing. "You charge us," say the apologists, "with familiar and homely language. We admit the justice of it. But God instructed his scribes to write for the uneducated as well as the learned.¹ None but the educated can fathom the speculations of your thinkers; and even they have all they can do. You have no writings with which to feed the poor millions. You object to our Hebrew tongue. It is the oldest tongue; your Greek is a novelty. Besides, we have the Greek as well in our New Testament. We have both tongues, and hence suit all classes. We have put our Hebrew into Greek, the Septuagint, and hence everybody can read our history and doctrines. Our doctrine of God is that he is a pure being, the Creator of all things, the Preserver, the Judge of nations and men. Your gods, the highest and the lowest, are corrupt, poor exemplars for men.² Our God is immanent in our life; he knows all things, and all things reveal him.³ You teach corrupt views of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Your Plato has vague imaginings of these sublime truths; but our Bible presents them in clearness and gives examples of their truth.⁴ We shall be rewarded after death.⁵ We live happily here, knowing that our reward is certain in the next life.⁶ Our doctrines are not presented vaguely and in the mist of speculation. We state them all clearly; every reader can know what we believe."

The apologists were nowhere more successful in argument than in their Christology. The character of Jesus was the chief point of pagan attack, and the defenders of the Christian faith saw very early that here they must be more full and careful than in any other department. The incarnation of Christ was a necessity—for pure doctrine, for a spotless example, and for the salvation of the soul. He is the only begotten of the Father, the Logos in flesh.⁷ He revealed in himself the di-

DIVINE CHARACTER OF JESUS.

¹ Orig., *Contra Celsum*, L. viii.

² Tertul., *Apol.*, c. 17.

³ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 32, 33.

⁴ Lactant., *Div. Instit.*, vii, 8-13.

⁵ Tertul., *Apol.*, iii, c. 45.

⁶ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 38.

⁷ Just., *Apol.*, i, c. 13; Tertul., *Apol.*, c. 29; Lactant., c. 20; Lactant., *Div. Instit.*, iv, 24, 29; Athenag., *Apol.*, c. 10; Tat., *Orat.*, 6, 5.

vine and eternal Wisdom. Jesus is the Christ; the Son of God; the God.¹ His miracles are the true works of God. To the pagan objection that Jesus only pretended to work miracles, the apologist replied that the pagan mythology claimed that their invisible gods were constantly performing miracles.² "Do you not say that your Æsculapius restores the lame and the halt? Do not your Orpheus and Zeno and Kleantes say that they know the Logos?³ Does not Plato, in a letter to Hermias and Koriskus, speak of a Son of God? The life of Jesus is free from taint of every kind. In his death he was a model of patience and wisdom. He rose from the grave by virtue of his own omnipotence. You claim that his death was disgraceful. We reply, that it was no suicide. He was not responsible for his death. Two things must be remembered: The death of Jesus did not alter the character of his life or the purity of his doctrines. His death was what his enemies committed.⁴ You cannot allege the violent death of a pure character as a charge against purity. Did not your Socrates, the highest type of morality produced by paganism, suffer death at the hands of his enemies? Nay, did not the sons of your Zeus suffer a violent death? The Holy Spirit is a divine effluence, a flowing from God and a return to him.⁵ You complain of our doctrine of God. But do not your pagan philosophers speak of one God, of the resurrection of the dead, and of Gehenna?" Away with your charges against our Christology and all our doctrines! There is not a doctrine which we possess of which you do not have shadows in your own best truths. Our Jesus is pure; you have no pure character to place beside him."

The apologists grew stronger as they progressed in their argument. They began with only a defense in mind, but as they advanced they became defiant. They made no concessions, but became the attacking party. "The abominations of your temple service are extreme and without apology," they said. "Your best gods have no purity of thought. Your Zeus is an ungovernable libertine. Your whole mythology is a species of devil worship." There is no mercy in your theocracy. Your deities, being corrupt, are tyrants. For every vice you have a special god, until your deities are as numerous as the stars in the heavens.⁶ Your miracles are only fables. You cannot produce one which admits of comparison with any of Christ's.⁷

CHRISTIANITY
AND THE PA-
GAN MYTHOL-
OGY IN CON-
TRAST.

¹ Just., Dial., c. 27. ² Tertul., Apol., c. 30. ³ Orig., Contra Celsum, L. vi.

⁴ Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. i, c. 40, 41.

⁵ Athenag., Apol., c. 10.

⁶ Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. ii, c. 13, 14. Comp. Tzschirner, Gesch. der Apologetik, p. 317.

⁷ Tertul., Apol., c. 23, 24.

⁸ Lactant., Div. Instit., ii, 9.

⁹ Arnob., Advers. Gentes, i. 43-58.

Your Bacchus, Bellerophon, and Hercules are poor borrowings from our Bible. You have no real deities; they were only original human characters, elevated by your fancy into divinities, or they are demons. You complain that our religion is new. Such was yours once. But ours is really older than yours.¹ Your Celsus declares that he found our prophets in Phrygia, who, on being driven into a corner, confessed their deception. Not so. Our books of prophecy were complete long before he was born."

"Your gods are mortal. Your Juno produced other gods," continue the apologists. "What has become of her, that she does not produce more?" Your gods are all too young to be truly divine. Your Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod lived when they were produced or soon afterward.² Herodotus says that Hesiod and Homer, who were the first to tell the Greeks they had gods, lived only four centuries before his day. Saturn was only a man, who came to Italy, was received by Janus, and founded a city, Saturnia, which still exists.³ Your gods are ridiculous when you come to put them before us in images. What is your Hercules but a great serpent? The daughter whom Rhea bore to Zeus had, in addition to two regular eyes, two others on her forehead, a long bill on the back of her neck, and horns on her head. All your gods are born.⁴ They abound in passion; some are drunkards, others are murderers, and multitudes are licentious.⁵ You explain your gods allegorically. Janus, you say, is either the world, or the year, or the sun. Then you admit he is not a god, only a figure of speech.⁶ Allegory is the last resort of people who cannot prove the divinity of their gods.⁷ You worship only stone and wooden images. But these are shaped after human models. Did not the Athenians make their statues of Mercury, after the form of Alcibiades? Did not Praxiteles carve his Gnidian Venus after the form of Gratina, the actress whom he loved? Was not Phryne the original of the statues of Venus in the Greek cities? When Phidias finished his statue of the Olympian Jove did he not write on the finger of his god 'The Beautiful Pantarkis,' the name of a boy whom he loved? How can your gods be in the clay or mar-

DEPRAVITY OF
THE HEATHEN
GODS.

¹ Just., Apol., c. 54; Min. Felix, Octavius, c. 25, 26; Tertul., Apol., c. 10.

² Lactant., Div. Instit., v, 10; Just., Apol., i, c. 24; Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. ii, c. 72: Non ergo quod sequimur, novum est; sed nos sero addidicimus, quidnam sequi oporteat et colere.

³ Tat., Orat., p. 160, ed. Col.

⁴ Tertul., Apol., c. 10.

⁵ Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. iii, c. 9.

⁶ Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. v, c. 42.

⁷ Athenag., Legat., p. 16, ed. Col.

⁸ Athenag., Legat., p. 19.

⁹ Id., L. iv. ¹⁰ Id., c. 32.

ble or brass? If Zeus had been in his statue how could Dionysius have robbed him of his golden robe and left only a woollen one in its stead? Besides, Zeus would have been burnt up in his temple."¹

"Your philosophers are poor teachers," said the apologists to the pagan world. "Their morals almost without exception were impure. Aristippus loved luxury; Plato was given to the luxury of the table; Aristotle corrupted Alexander; and Heraclitus was so egotistic as to say that he owed everything to himself." There is not a single doctrine which your best men agree to be correct. You are hopelessly divided. Look only at the contradiction between Thales, Anaximander, Heraclitus, Anaxarchus, Epicurus, and Empédocles.² The best you have was borrowed from our Moses by Plato and by Pythagoras, in their travels in the Orient. Your Epicurus, coming late, as an improvement on your severer thinkers, declared that the world was only a great accident and that providence had no existence. The ethics which he taught was only a practical illustration of the license that pervades your whole mythology."³

IMPURITY OF
THE PAGAN
PHILOSOPHY.

This conflict between the pagan and Christian writers embraced every issue that involved the truth and worth of Christianity. It was conducted on both sides with a full consciousness of its importance at the time and of its bearing on the future. It was not a drawn battle. The apologists, compelled to defend their faith because of the fury of the attack, were driven to the study of the groundwork of Christianity, and their work has proved a permanent treasury of defensive arguments for all subsequent crises of skeptical attack.

PERMANENCE
OF THE FIRST
APOLOGETIC
CHRISTIAN
LITERATURE.

They were not free from infirmities of method. Their mode of dogmatic exposition exhibited the crudeness of beginners. They gave too large a place to belief in demoniacal possession and to exorcisms. Their interpretation of prophecy was often strained, and they gave too ready a credence to rumor that pervaded the Christian atmosphere. But these shortcomings are easily accounted for when we remember that theological authorship was as yet in its infancy, and that the measures employed by their assailants were unfair enough to disturb the equipoise of Christian writers in a crisis less momentous and in an age more free from prejudice and passion. The wonder is that their writings were as broad and candid as they prove to have been. Their aim was a universal Christianity and an all-conquer-

INFIRMITY OF
THE METHOD
OF THE APOLO-
GISTS.

¹ Arnob., *Advers. Gentes*, L. vi.

² Tat., *Orat.*, pp. 142, 143.

³ Clement, *Protreptik.*, p. 42, Tat., *Orat.*, p. 162.

⁴ Comp. Tzschirner, *Geschichte der Apologetik*, pp. 304, ff.

ing Church.' Their assailants charged them with many crimes, and accepted any witness against them. What wonder that the apologists, writing with the sting of gross injustice, should sometimes employ arguments that would not endure the test of a calmer period? Their success is the best test of their real achievement and their place in history. The last of the apologists occupied the field alone. After Tertullian no important reply was made to their arguments, and by the end of the fifth century apologetic writings were no longer necessary, because the occasion which should call them forth no longer existed. The Christians now lived in a larger place. The words of one of the most heroic apologists, written in the heat of a conflict which lasted two centuries, became an evident fact: "Every country is the Christian's fatherland, and every fatherland is the Christian's country."¹

¹ Tzschirner, Fall des Heidenthums, p. 221.

² Ep. ad Diognetum, v.

CHAPTER VI.

EBIONISM AND KINDRED OVERTURES FOR COMPROMISE—THE CLEMENTINES.

THIS age, abundant as it was in sharp and bitter antagonisms, was not without its serious and persistent attempts at compromise. We turn from the picture of intense hostility to Christians, and shall not find another like it until the eleven centuries shall have elapsed, when Roman Catholicism shall have kindled those inquisitorial fires which blazed from eastern Bohemia to the British Islands, and from the Alps to the shores of the Mediterranean. The persecution of the Roman emperors found its natural and first reproduction in the martyrdom of Protestants. The overtures for compromise in the patristic period came to Christianity from Judaism on the one hand, and the Hellenistic philosophy on the other. The Christians proposed no concessions. It remains to be seen whether in listening to propositions for pacification they were willing to yield in peace any of the ground which they had gained alike by the pen and their long sufferings.

THE TWO
SOURCES OF
THE OVER-
TURES FOR
COMPROMISE.

The Ebionites and Nazareans represented the attempt to accommodate Judaism to Christianity, while the Gnostic schools embodied the effort to adapt paganism to Christianity.

EBIONITES AND
NAZAREANS.

There existed in Jerusalem, after the memorable apostolic council which settled the Pauline principle of the freedom of Christian converts from obligation to the Mosaic ceremonial law, a body of Christians who would not accept the conclusion. They constituted a separate society, with Jerusalem as the center. There was no unity among them. Many differed but little from the general body of Christians. They shared their liberal and progressive views, and saw in Christianity a complete fulfillment of all of worth in Judaism. The other party was more conservative. It adhered to the ceremonial law, and refused to regard Christianity as the culmination of the Mosaic law. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and the erection of *Ælia Capitolina* on its ruins, A. D. 137, that emperor forbade all Jews to enter its gates, but gave the Christians

THE RISK OF
THE EBIONITE
CHRISTIANS.

full liberty to dwell within them.' This measure brought on a crisis in the Judaizing Christian society. There was no bond which now held them together. The more liberal members, differing but little from the Gentile Christians, and seeing no need of longer alienation from the general Church, united with it, and became fully identified with its life and interests.¹ Others, the extreme Jewish members, renounced all their Christian affinities, and returned to Judaism. The remaining portion, unwilling to surrender a measure of their faith in both Judaism and Christianity, organized a separate body, and became the Ebionite Christians. In desiring to be both Jews and Christians the result was that they were neither the one nor the other.²

The Ebionites derived their name from the Hebrew word meaning poor, or needy, probably given by their enemies as a term of reproach.³ They held that the Mosaic law was still in force; that its observance was a condition for the salvation of every soul; that Christianity was the fulfillment of this law, but in no sense its abrogation; that Christ was the prophet for the deliverance of Israel; that he was a mere man, like Moses and David; that his generation was natural; that the divine Spirit entered him first at the baptism by John; that Jesus was a good Jew, distinguished beyond all men for piety, and yet having the germ of sin; that this piety constituted his claim to Messiahship, and that he performed miracles and supplemented the law by his own commands. The Ebionites observed the Jewish Sabbath, and retained the rite of circumcision, the synagogue service, and all ceremonial usages. Jerusalem was regarded by them as the center of the Church, and they expected that Jesus would come again and establish his kingdom of millennial glory and power in the city of their fathers. They rejected all of Paul's writings, regarding him as a false teacher, because of his moderate estimate of the Jewish law. The work which they possessed, as

¹ Schliemann places the separation of Ebionites from the Nazareans, A. D. 136. Clementinen, pp. 488, f.

² Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iv, 5, 6. Ritschl, Alt-Katholische Kirche, i, p. 258. Thomasius, Die christliche Dogmengeschichte, i, p. 57. Herzog, Abriss d. gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 75, ff.

³ Jerome: Dum volunt Judaei et Christiani esse, nec Judaei sunt, nec Christiani.

⁴ עֲבִיּוֹנִים. Gieseler, following Eusebius, iii, 27, supposes the poverty to refer to the low conception the Jews had of a crucified Christ. Baur refers it to the poverty resulting from ascetic practices; Origen, De Prin., iv, i, 22, to the poverty of their understanding. No doubt the name was given on account of their poverty in worldly goods, and was originally applied to all Christians.

the basis of their faith, was the Gospel to the Hebrews, which was a Hebrew translation of Matthew's gospel, with corruptions and additions.¹ They had communities in eastern Palestine, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and even in Rome, and continued to exist down to the end of the fourth century.²

The Ebionites were at no time a thoroughly united body. Those who did not share their extreme Judaism withdrew from them in course of time, and became known as the Nazareans. They regarded the ceremonial law as binding on themselves, but differed from the Ebionites in holding that it was not obligatory on Gentile Christians. Their Christology was more nearly Christian, their view being that Christ was the Son of God; that his generation was divine; that his death on the cross was the culmination of his Messiahship; and that Judaism was in large measure superseded by Christianity. They did not reject the writings of Paul, and revered him as the great apostle to the nations. They used a less distorted Hebrew translation of Matthew's gospel than that of the Ebionites as their basis of faith in Christianity. Their principal societies, according to Jerome, who met with them in his travels, existed in Berœa and elsewhere in eastern Syria, but disappeared during the fourth century.³

WANT OF
UNITY AMONG
THE EBION-
ITES.

The Elkesaites, or Sampsæans, differed but little from the Ebionites and Nazareans except in the larger place they gave to the oriental or theosophic element.⁴ They kept the Jewish Sabbath and retained circumcision and other observances of primitive Ju-

¹ There is some difficulty in deciding the exact nature of the Gospel to the Hebrews and its relation to our Matthew. See Staudmann, *Das Hebräer-Evangelium*, Leipz., 1888, who denies that that Gospel had any relation to the traditional Hebrew Matthew. On the other hand, see McGiffert, *Presb. Rev.*, x (1889), 495-497, and his note in his ed. of Eusebius, pp. 159, 160.

² Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 25. i.; Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 27; Origen, *c. Cels.*, v, 61; Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho.*, xlvii; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxix, xxx.

³ The distinction between the Nazareans and the Ebionites is first drawn by Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxix. But it has been shown by Nitzsch that these are not two sects, but names of the one Judaistic heretical party, sometimes called by the one name, sometimes by the other (*Dogmengesch.*, p. 27. ff.). The Ebionites differed widely among themselves in the degree of their variation from historical Christianity. See McGiffert, *Eus.*, *H. E.*, iii, 27, note 1.

⁴ Some suppose them to have taken their name from Elkesi, a reformer of Trajan's time; others, from Elkesi, a Galilean town. Both theories are rejected by the best authorities. The most probable origin is to be found in the Hebrew *קְלִיסְיָה*, *δύναμις κεκαλιμένη*; the Holy Spirit, the nonfleshy spirit of the Clementine Homilies. Comp. Herzog, *Abriiss.* etc., p. 77.

daism, though they repudiated sacrifices and, with them, parts of the Old Testament. Their faith in astrology and a mild type of magic gives proof of their sympathy with oriental vagaries. They swore by oil and salt, which were to them the emblems of spiritual communication.¹ They were also called Sampsæans, probably from their habit of praying with their faces toward the sun.² They lived in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, and derived what little strength they enjoyed from the disintegrating Essenism which had long existed in that region.³

It is a proof of the broad territory which was comprised by this attempt to combine Judaism with Christianity that we find the same spirit in Rome which was manifesting itself in the Jews.

Palestine in the form of these heretical sects. Judaism is everywhere alike. The controversies and societies of the Jews in one region have always reproduced themselves in the farthest abodes of their brethren. It was in perfect harmony with their character and associations that among the Jews of the metropolis, who were in constant communication with their coreligionists in Palestine, there should arise a class who should also see possible points of affinity between Christianity and their own faith, and employ some positive measure to find a basis for agreement. They, like their brethren in the East, saw in some such accommodation as this not only an adaptation to the requirements of a new age, but the best possible means of overthrowing paganism.⁴

This Roman disposition to accommodate Judaism to Christianity, and also to resist the new Gnosticism as a common pagan foe, took form in a theological romance, bearing the name of The Clementines.⁵ That fiction should be resorted to in order to solve existing problems shows how firm a hold the questions at issue between the great contending parties had upon the popular mind. The writer of The Clementines, calling himself Clement of Rome, goes abroad in quest of the truth. He has his doubts on all the fundamental questions of faith, grows weary in his fruitless search in the great schools of philosophy, and at last

¹ Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, ii, p. 328.

² Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi, 38; Epiph., who in chap. 19 classes them with the Essenes, in chap. 30 among the Ebionites, and in chap. 53 among the Sampsæans; Hippolytus, *Phil.*, ix, 9-12. See McGiffert, *Eusebius*, p. 280, note 1.

³ Besides the authorities already mentioned the best recent discussions of Ebionitism are Lightfoot, *Ep. to the Galatians*, 306, ff.; Uhlhorn, in Herzog and Plitt and on the Clementine writings, and Schliemann and Ritschl on the same; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, ii, 211, ff.; Shedd, *Hist. of Doctrine*, i, 106; Cruttwell, *l. c.*, i, 131-135; especially Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i, 215-249; Fuller, in Smith and Wace, *s. v.* (excellent).

⁵ *Tà Kληματα*, or *Kληματα*.

reaches Palestine, where the apostle Peter becomes his instructor. Clement the seeker, Peter the teacher, and Simon the Magian, the representative of the false gnosis—these are the three characters in this deftly woven theological Odyssey.

The Clementines consist of three parts: the Homilies of Clemens Romanus, the Recognitions, and the Epitome, which is a scanty selection from the narrative part of the Homilies.¹ It is exceedingly difficult to tell the relation of these parts to each other. The probability is that all of them rest on one original, which was worked over independently into these three forms. Harnack thinks that they were composed largely for edification, without any doctrinal intent. Langen, on the other hand, finds the animus in the proposed transfer of the primacy of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome, about the middle of the second century: 'The epistles of Peter and Clement to James sprung from the Roman clergy, under Bishop Anicetus. The Homilies were Jewish-Christian Palestinian products, written in the interest of Cæsarea. After that came the Recognitions, opposing the Judaism of the Homilies and making Antioch the see of Peter.'² Lipsius finds the basis of the whole literature in the *Acta Pilati*, with their strong anti-Pauline tinge.³

It is not possible at present to decide positively what was the root of this remarkable romance nor for what purpose its various parts were composed. All we know is that the most widely divergent currents of doctrine—Gnostic and Christian, pantheistic and theistic—find a meeting place here. Langen places these writings, in their original form at least, in the middle of the second century, in which he is followed by most scholars. Harnack makes the date in the former half of the third century. The Germans generally affirm their Roman origin; Lightfoot thinks that they originated in Syria, very likely at Cæsarea.

¹ The first edition was published by Cotelierius, in his collection of the *Patres Apostolici* (Paris, 1672), from a Colbert Codex of the Paris Library. A new edition from a complete manuscript discovered by Dressel in the Ottonian Library, in Rome, was published in Göttingen in 1853. De Lagarde published a critical edition, the best, in 1865. The Recognitions are in a Latin translation of Rufinus. It was edited by Cotelierius and Gallandi, and latterly by Gersdorf, *Biblioth. Patr. Eccl. Lat.*, vol. i (Leipz., 1838). The Ante-Nicene Library (Edinb., 1867) gives a translation by T. Smith, with an introduction on the literature. The Epitome was first published by Turnebus (Paris, 1555), and afterward by Cotelierius.

² Langen, *Die Klemensromane*, Gotha, 1890. V. Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 161 (by H. M. Scott).

³ *Die Quellen der römischen Petrusgeschichte*, Kiel, 1872.

rea.¹ The three works, though each by a different hand, bear the name of *The Clementines* in the literature of the Church.²

The opinions advocated in the *Homilies* are a curious mixture of the many varieties of truth and error which floated in the atmosphere of that day. God existed from eternity, and is a living, personal, and pure being. He has form and soul. He reveals himself by the expansion and contraction of his Spirit, whose image is reflected in the hearts of men. He expresses himself by ecstasy. All matter is an emanation, and the world was made under the influence of the divine wisdom. The earthly kingdom, ruled over by its lord, the devil, is related to the heavenly kingdom, which is ruled over by the one God, the original being. The two constitute a pair. The system of pairs obtains throughout the universe—man and woman, Abel and Cain, Christ and antichrist. Christ's mission was to preach a purified Mosaism and elevate it to universality. Baptism takes the place of circumcision, and, when understood, carries with it the pardon of sin.

In this curious romance prophetic inspiration is continued steadily among the children of God as an emanation of the *Sophia*, or Holy Spirit. Peter is the great apostle, and he alone is the safe teacher of Christians. Christ will come a second time and establish his kingdom among men. Those who serve God here will be rewarded after death, and the wicked here will be punished hereafter. All sacrifices are to be discountenanced as done away by Christianity. No general effect was produced by the *Clementines*. The work created a momentary impression, like the realistic romances of our own century, but there was no disposition on the part of the Christians to accept its opinions or in anywise modify their attitude toward Judaism. It gave a momentary prominence to the heretical Christian sects in Palestine, and served to lengthen somewhat their feeble existence. There was one service which the *Clementines* rendered, and only one. They aided the Christians toward a

¹ Ep. to Galatians, Dissertation iii; Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond., 1892, pp. 88, 89. Hilgenfeld, who made an elaborate investigation in his *Die clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien*, Jena, 1848, thought that the *Recognitions* came first; that the *Homilies* were based on these, and that earlier still was a Judæo-Christian tract of Roman origin, of which an actual remnant is found in *Recogn. i*, 27-72, and a general outline in *iii*, 75. Uhlhorn was not satisfied with this, but held in *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus*, Göttingen, 1854, that the *Homilies* were the earlier, and that the true nucleus was *Hom. xvi-xix*. Lehmann, in *Die clement. Schriften*, Gotha, 1869, dissolved the *Recognitions* into two parts, i-iii, and iv-x, each with a different author.

² See also Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, i, pp. 133-126; Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, i, pp. 192, 193.

clearer understanding of the shrewd and dangerous foe which confronted them in Gnosticism.

Recently an attempt has been made, with good success, to trace the influence of the Clementine romance on the Faust legend. The outlandish adventures of that hero find several parallels in certain features of the Simon Magus story in the Homilies. There are considerations which "afford an historical probability amounting to proof" that Faustus Junior derived his name from the Faustus of the Recognitions. Richardson has given the best account of this strange connection of the everlasting Faust.¹

¹ Faust and the Clementine Recognitions, in Papers of the American Society of Church History, vi (1894), 133-145. Lagarde was the first to trace the legend to the Clementine literature, in the prolegomena to his edition of the Clementines, 1865. Steitz, in Studien und Kritiken, 1867, carried it still farther. Several writers have given in their adhesion to this view. See Richardson, p. 139. Faust appears in the Recognitions, ii, 5; vii, 31, 33; ix, 35, 36, *et al.* On the Clementines in general, see also the excellent article by Professor Salmon, in Smith and Wace: Cruttwell, i, 136-150; Uhlhorn, in Herzog and Plitt; and prolegomena and notes of Riddle, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, N. Y., 1886, vol. viii.

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CHAPTER VII.

GNOSTICISM.

BETWEEN Asia and Europe there has always been an ebb and flow of leadership and conquest. The armies which followed Xerxes and the other Eastern rulers westward into Europe, and those led by Alexander and his successors from Europe into Asia, were only parts of that general historical action and reaction which have pervaded all ages. The Asiatic, as he stood on his side of the Bosphorus, has looked to the Europe in front of him as only a field for conquest and not for friendship. The European, as he gazed from his side of the narrow stream which divides the two continents, has seen in Asia only a glittering prize that might add to the splendor of his European throne. The story of the duel constitutes a large part of the earlier and later history of the Old World. The present hold of Turkey upon European territory, and of Great Britain upon India, proves that the old antagonistic aspirations of the Orient and Occident have come down to our times. As with the ambitions which have crystallized in the march of armies back and forth, so in the domain of religious ideas the East and the West have each sought a wider field than their own home as the empire of their faith. Here we find the historical place of Gnosticism. It was the stepping forth of the Asiatic mind after its long wandering in theosophic and mystical mazes, and proposing to combine with Christianity for the mastery of all ages. It was the first great intellectual endeavor of the Orient to impress its thought upon the Occident. It was the combined effort of the Eastern faiths to come to such compromise with Christianity, by each surrendering a large measure of its individuality, that out of the union a religion might be reared which should advance both eastward and westward and conquer the world.

PERPETUAL
CONFLICT OF
ASIA AND EU-
ROPE.

HISTORICAL
PLACE OF
GNOSTICISM.

There was little unity in Gnosticism. It was the Joseph's coat of theological and theosophical opinion. No historian has ever been able to identify it with any one country or people to the exclusion of others. Until the time of Mosheim it was supposed to be predominantly of Platonic origin, but he drew aside the veil which had hidden its Eastern sources, and proved it to be in large measure a child of

oriental intuition and rhapsody. Yet, so soon as we begin to limit Gnosticism entirely to the East, we find that it is not without its minor Hellenistic origin. But even this was itself originally oriental. The Neoplatonism which flourished in Alexandria, and which some of the Gnostics found it convenient to absorb, in order to make its proposal to Christianity more probable of acceptance, was only the oriental element in the Platonic system which the master had long ago imbibed during his wanderings along the Nile. How diverse was the patchwork which has taken its place in history as Gnosticism may be seen in both the varied nationality and faith of its adherents. With the map of the ancient Eastern world in hand, one can find almost every land sending forth its wise men to find the Messiah of this new faith, and to lay their offerings at his feet. The sacrifice, however, was not complete. They wished both to take and to give.

The western half of Asia was a seething caldron of conflicting mythologies. The cults were as grotesque as the provincial costumes. Every valley abounded in a new faith, and each faith was the kindly mother of numerous legends. From every hill there looked down a different protecting divinity, and beneath every chief divinity was an endless chain of conscious cons. The legends of creation and the source of evil were beyond all count. The religions of Baal, Moloch, and Astarte could number their votaries by the million. Even Buddhism was aroused from its dreamy ecstasy in Bactria, where it had established itself, and joined the westward column of oriental faiths, and on reaching Alexandria made its overtures for compromise with Christianity.¹ If in Gnosticism we can see that dualism which pervades Parseeism and all kindred Eastern religions, we also discover with equal ease that pantheistic monism whose source was to be found in Buddhism. No such effort was ever made before to combine opposite and conflicting systems from every region embraced by both the pantheon and the geography of the East.

The most natural place where this compromise should be proposed to Christianity was Alexandria. The declared design of the Macedonian conqueror, when he built this city and gave it his name, was that it should be a promoter of commerce between the East and the West; it should be a servant, by whom each should give to the other of its plenty. But Alexander had other thoughts in mind, far broader than mere commercial advantage. He strove to dig deeper the channels of thought, and have both the East and the West overspread with a

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, iii, pp. 383, f., 405.

silver network of intellectual currents. His highest idea of national unity was that only by the community of mind can a nation be really homogeneous. His new city, whose location came to him by dream, should not only be a commercial center, but a Pharos of intellectual life for three great continents. He took speedy measures to welcome exiles, to organize learning, and to make the city which bore his name the patroness of all that was best to teach and learn from all lands.

Alexander's successors were aflame with the same passion. They would make Alexandria the light of the world, and combine in it the sanctity of Jerusalem, the learning of Athens, and the power of Rome. To the Ptolemies it was the "Venus that arose out of all that idle foam of Alexander's conquest." They built up a varied population. All nations jostled each other as they passed along that wondrous street which extended through the city's length, from the gate of Canopus to that of Necropolis. Buyers and copyists were sent abroad to bring home the richest treasures of human thought from every land and any temple or library. Even valuable books were seized by the government and copied, and the transcript sent back to the owners, with compensation for their loss of the originals.¹ The divinities from all lands found a home in Alexandria. No stranger in the street could be long without cheering reminders of his own far-away altar.

PURPOSE OF
ALEXANDER'S
SUCCESSORS.

The point of affiliation between Gnosticism and the Platonic philosophy was prepared by the speculations of Philo. There was a gnosis before Gnosticism, and Philo was its chief author.² He was a learned Hebrew, born about B. C. 20, and a citizen of Alexandria. He regarded Plato as the "Attic Moses," and aimed to find a place where Judaism and Platonism could safely harmonize. He saw in God and the world a dualism both finite and infinite. God exists in and for himself; he is independent and original. His theophanies in the Old Testament did not occur; God cannot, without violence to his own nature, assume visible form. Still, he can reveal himself to the soul. The world is produced and sustained and ruled by him. But God is not Creator of the world; he has only given it form, out of the original matter, or Hyle. Man was not created by God, but by demiurges, because man is himself the abode of sin.

PHILO.

Philo held that between God and the world there is a chasm which is bridged by intermediate forces. These forces are the

¹ Origen, in *Essays and Remains of R. A. Vaughan*, i, p. 2.

² Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i, pp. 26, 27.

divine attributes. The Logos is a divine emanation, an intermediate power. It has ideas, and God impresses them upon matter, as the figure made by a seal. The Logos is the biblical and original word of God, by whom the world is sustained. To the Logos he joins the Reason. The Holy Spirit, the divine Wisdom, imparted itself to the first men, and to all later ones who, like Moses, have striven after likeness to God. The angels are divine forces whose office it is to protect God's creatures. The ideal world was created by these forces. All good comes from God. Sin lies in matter. The human soul has been preexistent in a spiritual and immaterial form. Through woman sin entered the world. The paradise of the Scriptures was only an allegory to represent a general fact. Man has a heavenly nature, and hence is immortal, if good. His is the eternal life of goodness. Because of the dualism of spirit and matter in Philo's system he finds no place in the future for punishment, hell, or devil. This material earth is the only needful place of punishment.

PHILO'S VIEW
OF THE DIVINE
LOGOS.

Of a Messiah, or Christ, Philo makes no mention; Moses is a sufficient mediator, but says that in the future there will come a chief who will stand at the head of his people and conquer many nations. Philo explains the Messianic hopes, however, as a general aspiration. He has no place for the incarnation of the Logos, for the evil inherent in matter precludes the possibility. Philo's work was to set up a compound of Judaism and paganism. Like the amalgam of which was made that image of Serapis which had been taken from the shores of the Euxine and set up in cosmopolitan Alexandria for the varied worship of its people, the system of Philo was drawn from various quarters, and held up as a thing of unity and charm. But he could not harmonize Jerusalem and Athens, Moses and Plato. He surrendered all that was of value in Judaism. Its firm historical foundation, its ordinances, history, and great prophetic and pedagogic significance disappeared before his Platonic ideology.¹

Philo was the first to imagine that the solution of the questions of faith, as he saw them in the first century, lay in compromise and surrender. His followers in this view were numerous, but theirs was a much wider horizon. Christianity, which was to him only a shadowy possibility, had, by the third century, come to be a formidable claimant upon the confidence and thought of the world.

PHILO'S EM-
PHASIS ON
COMPROMISE.

The capricious character of Gnostic speculation, and the great

¹ Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, pp. 223, ff.

national diversity in its representatives, make its classification very difficult. The most natural method is according to the CAPRICES OF
GNOSTICISM. preponderating element. In many instances the boundary lines were transgressed. Faustus never underwent more complete transformations in the imagination of Goethe, or was more difficult to detect than the typical Gnostic. Whether he was pagan or Jew, Christian or fire worshiper, magian or Buddhist, must have often been a question even to himself. So free was the lance that many of them wielded that it is not easy to tell from which cause they came or which lists they were entering for combat. Our only proper plan is to locate according to the larger influence.¹

¹ Niedner and Fricke classify Gnosticism into systems in which Christianity is the culmination of all pre-Christian revelations; and those in which it is sundered from these, and presented in contrast; and those in which true Christianity is identified with paganism. Gieseler divides into Alexandrian and Syrian Gnostics; and Hase, into Syrian, Hellenistic, Christian, and Judaistic Gnostics. Baur groups Christianity with Judaism and paganism; Christianity against Judaism and paganism; and Judaism identified with Christianity. Ritter divides into dualistic and idealistic Gnostics. Guericke, Jacobi, and Neander arrange according to sympathy with Judaism, hostility to it, and independence of all earlier systems. This classification is the most philosophical, and we adopt it in the main.

CHAPTER VIII.

GNOSTICISM WITH JEWISH BACKGROUND.

CERINTHUS forms the connecting link between the gnosia of John's time and the fully developed system of the following century. Like John, he lived in Asia Minor, and had good opportunity to study the Christian system from observation of the Christian societies in that region. His views approach very closely to those of the Ebionites, and in some instances are identical with them. He regarded Judaism as a preparation for Christianity. The world, he held, was not created by the supreme God, but by a subordinate spirit, or angel, who also gave the law to the Jews. This spirit did not know the supreme God, so far beneath him was his order of existence. Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, and he, too, did not know the supreme God, but, by virtue of his good life and pure will, he arrived at a knowledge of him, and at the baptism of John was endowed with the Holy Spirit or heavenly wisdom. This spiritual endowment completed the divine character of Christ as the Logos, and opened the full communication between him and the supreme God. Cerinthus would not admit that Christ performed any mediatorial service, but claimed that his death was only a misadventure, without saving significance, and that Christ would come again at the general resurrection and establish an earthly kingdom of great power and splendor.¹

BASILIDES was of Syrian origin, but taught in Alexandria about A. D. 130. He saw in the universe a dualism—the highest deity and matter. Between these there communicated an abundant company of eons, emanations from God, who revealed his glory and made it fruitful. There are seven chief eons who establish themselves in matter. Each nation has its own spiritual ruler, and is guided by him.² The ruler over the Jews taught them by means of Moses and the prophets. But truth was not confined to the Jews; it went abroad; even the Greeks

¹ Iren., i, 26, 1; iii, 3, 4, and 11, 1; Hippol., vii, 21; Eus., vii, 28; iv, 14. See Dorner, *System of Doctrine*, iii, 48, 213, 302, 331, 355, 376; McGiffert, *Notes to Eusebius*, *loc. cit.*

² Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, ii, p. 16.

and Persians shared largely in it, and longed for that full revelation which came when the highest eon, *Noë*, was revealed to Jesus at his baptism. Basilides advised, but did not enjoin, celibacy as the best way to avoid the cares of life. He observed only one festival, that of the Epiphany, in memory of Christ's baptism by John. The Basilidean system is distinguished for its caution toward all extreme views, of either Judaism or paganism. It does not declare asceticism the only relief for the soul, but counsels Christian society and prayer as full of comfort.¹ It holds that man cannot bear his burdens and work out his destiny alone, but needs, and can possess, the divine power, and may attain to a strong spiritual life. Man has a sinful inclination, and can attain to freedom from it by the force of will and by application to God for relief. There is a providence which watches over the individual life. The pseudo-Basilideans of the Western Church perverted these opinions of the master and gave themselves up to a life of license, on the ground of the freedom of the perfect from the restraints of the law.²

We now come to Valentine, the most important Gnostic in whom the Jewish element prevailed. He was a Jewish Christian, educated in Alexandria, and a resident in that city until A. D. 138. He afterward removed to Rome, where he taught a number of years. He withdrew from the Church on account of his heretical opinions. He died A. D. 160.

VALENTINE.

In wealth of fancy and depth of thought Valentine occupies the first place among the Gnostics. He derived more help from Plato than any other man of his group. The Platonic ideology is everywhere apparent in his system, though his frequent use of numbers, and the relations in which he places them, show his literal dependence on Pythagoras. His fundamental doctrine is emanation. The supreme God lives in silence and solitude. Nothing has come from his creative or emanating nature. But he must love, and he cannot love without an object. The object must come from himself. Hence he begins to emanate. The eons are personalities who proceed from him, and communicate with that gross world which now comes into existence. From the eon truth, the Word and the Life proceed. From these latter, again, man

OPINIONS OF
VALENTINE.

¹ Isidore says: *ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἐκπαυσία τοῦ εἰς αἰῶνα ἔσται.*

² Hippolytus, vii, 20-27; Clem. Alex., Strom., vii; Eus., iv, 7. Uhlhorn gave an acute analysis, *Das Basilidianische System*, Göttingen, 1855, and Hort wrote an elaborate monograph in Smith and Wace, s. v. See literature further in Schaff, Ch. Hist., ii, 466, and Hilgenfeld in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1878 (xxi), 228-250.

and the Church emanate. Man was placed in the third of the seven heavens, where he disobeyed, and was thrust down to the earth and joined to a corrupt and sinful body. The demiurge chose the Jews in whom to reveal himself; he awoke prophets among them who should awaken the hope of a Messiah. After the fullness of the time the Logos, or Christ, appeared. Through him alone, divinely endowed at baptism, there has come full redemption to humanity. The crucifixion represented that divine might by which the world is purified from sin. By doing and suffering we reach our highest excellence. Only by the culture of the spiritual forces within us can we fill out the measure of our mission.¹

Valentine was the founder of the largest Gnostic school. His chief disciples were Heracleon, Ptolemæus, and Bardesanes. Heracleon was an earnest and thoughtful man, and was best known as a commentator on John's gospel. He was sincere in his study of John, but, giving large liberty to the Gnostic love of typology, he distorted every plain truth into something foreign to the mind of John.² Ptolemæus is known to us by an epistle to Flora, a writing designed to attract a lady of his time to the adoption of the Valentinian opinions. The work is occupied chiefly with a discussion on the doctrine of inspiration and on the relation of the Old and New Testaments.³ Bardesanes lived about A.D. 170, at the court of Prince Abgar, of Edessa. He was distinguished for his combination of profound learning with the poetic spirit. He wrote a poem combating the fatalism of the stars, an error very common among the Syrian Gnostics. His son, Harmonius, was also distinguished for poetic productions. Markos flourished in the second half of the second century, and to Valentine's system he joined a Pythagorean and cabalistic mysticism of figures. He pretended to practice magical arts by which to attract wealthy and noble women into the toils of his system. He also laid claim to a knowledge of astrology.⁴

The Valentinian school extended into many parts of the East and West. It numbered more disciples than any other Gnostic body.

¹ Irenæus, i, 1-21, Hippolytus, vi, 29-37, Tertullian, adv. Valentinianos, and Epiphanius, xxxi, furnish expositions and refutations of Valentine. The best modern account is Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, Lond., 1875, pp. 166-202. Baur has some pregnant observations in his *Kirchengeschichte*, i, 195-204, and Schaff, as usual, an illuminating treatment, ii, 472-478.

² Neander furnishes an excellent illustration of Heracleon's figurative method by his use of the conversation between Christ and the Samaritan woman. See *Gen. Hist.*, i, pp. 435, 436.

³ Stieren, *De Ptolem. Gnostici Floram Ep.*, Jena, 1843.

⁴ Iren., i, 13, 15.

It had representatives in Rome, on the island of Cyprus, and in other places. In time it lost its pure features, and, like other Gnostic bodies, became immoral when deprived of the personal guidance of the founder. Here, as in all new movements, the moral fiber of the system is best proven by the second generation.

THE AREA OF
VALENTINE'S
SCHOOL.

CHAPTER IX.

GNOSTICISM WITH ORIENTAL AND PAGAN BACKGROUND.

THE Ophites are the first Gnostics we meet with in this field. They existed as a small sect in Egypt before the time of Christ, and afterward adopted a perverted type of Christianity, but retaining a larger measure of oriental theosophy than any other system. Dualism pervaded their doctrines. The Pleroma develops itself in eons, and from the fourth eon there floats a ray of light, which combines with matter and becomes the Achamoth, the Sophia, or world soul. The first production of this union is the Jaldabaoth, the maker of the world, who is a limited and wicked being, but capable of ministering to the great divine plan. He corresponds with the demiurge of other Gnostic speculations. He is inflamed with evil desires, and is a rebel. Ruler of the world of stars, which are themselves principal spirits, he invokes the six stellar angels to create man. Man is then created, or evolved, but receives a spiritual breath, by which he rises above and beyond his creator. To defeat man's destiny the serpent is prepared. The serpent becomes the type of all wisdom, and is worshiped. Hence the term Ophites, applied to the sect.¹ Man, through his fall, arrives at the consciousness of freedom and mastery. The evil spirits contend for supremacy over him, but he defeats their purposes and advances constantly. The heavenly Christ passed through the seven heavens and was united with Jesus at his baptism, but withdrew from him at his death. A vein of pantheism pervades the whole system of the Ophites.²

There were two minor Ophitic sects—the Cainites and the Sethites. The former took their name from Cain, the son of Adam, who, according to them, was the first to distinguish himself against the God of the Jews. The one who carried this battle to a successful close was Judas Iscariot. Both Cain and Judas were venerated by the Cainites as sons of the Sophia. The Sethites taught that there were originally two races of men, one from Cain and the other from Abel. In their conflict

TWO OPHITE
SECTS.

¹ Ὀφίς, serpent.

² Hippolytus, v, 1-23; Irenæus, i, 30. Lipsius explains the Ophite system in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1863, 1864.

Abel was defeated and slain, but, to take his place, the Sophia created the pneumatic Seth, the first of all the Gnostics. The second appearance of Seth was as the Christ, who came as Saviour of the spiritual world.¹

Carpocrates built his system out of Buddhism and Neoplatonism. He placed all faiths on the same plane. The better men whom each produced—Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, CARPOCRATES. Christ—occupied the same moral position. The Platonic system was the source of his ideology. He held to a preexistence of the soul, to a rule over the nations by finite spirits, from whom all the religions have come, and to a divine power in Jesus by which he wrought miracles and reached the highest unity. Carpocrates had a son, Epiphanes, who exerted such an influence and gained such a following that divine honors were paid him.² The Carpoocrations practiced magic and surrendered themselves to wild libertinism.

In Mani and the Manichæans we reach the farthest limit of oriental Gnosticism. They represented the intellectual MANI. revival of the Persians after their deliverance, under the Sassanides, from the Parthian yoke, A. D. 227. That the religion of Zoroaster should have a new fascination to the now liberated people can excite no surprise. The religious element, the one nearest at hand, and associated with the period of national glory, now came into the foreground. Mani was its representative. But Christianity had appeared in the meantime in the West, and Buddhism in the East was not without its claims.

Mani made the religion of Zoroaster the main fiber of his system, but was skillful enough to weave important threads RELIGION OF
ZOROASTER
THE BASIS OF
MANI'S SYS-
TEM. from both Christianity and Buddhism. He announced himself as the Paraclete promised by Christ, and imagined himself the destined deliverer of Christianity from its bondage of Jewish ordinances and superstitions, by incorpo-

¹ Various opinions have been advanced as to the existence of these sects. But Tertullian gives us a distinct account of the Cainites, whom he held to be the Nicolaitans under another name. See Kaye, Tertullian, p. 522. Philastrius and the author of *Prædestinatus* give an account of the Sethites. The weight of evidence is too strong to be resisted that they did exist and held the opinions attributed to them. If the ridiculous character of the opinions is made a ground of objection, we may reply that they are not more absurd, or more hostile to the Old Testament, than those of many other Gnostics whose existence has never been questioned.

² On the island of Cephalonia. See Clement, *Strom.*, L. iii. The alleged Carpoocratian inscription found in Cyrene, and brought from there to Malta, and indorsed by Gesenius, proved to be only a shrewd device of the Frenchman, Fortia d'Urban, to further his St. Simonism by an appeal to Carpoocratian communism of wives and property.

rating with it the best elements in the religion of Zoroaster. The Eastern account of his personal history is that he attracted many adherents and gained the favor of the Persian king, Sapor I, about A. D. 270. This king soon turned against him, and he fled to Turkistan, where he dwelt in a cave and developed his system. On the death of Sapor, A. D. 271, he returned to Persia and enjoyed the favor of the succeeding king, Hormisdas, who gave him an asylum in the castle of Daskereh, in Susiana. Varanes, the successor of Hormisdas, listened to the representation of the magians against Mani, and he was put to death A. D. 277.

The Western tradition concerning Mani is that his doctrine came first from a Saracen traveling merchant, Scythianus, who had gained precious wisdom in distant lands, and settled in Alexandria. Terebinthus, a disciple of Scythianus, wrote down four books at his master's dictation, the *Mysteria*, *Capitula*, *Evangelium*, and *Thesaurus*, and after the master's death removed to Babylon. Terebinthus died by falling from the top of a house, and his widow presented his books to a young freedman, Cubricus. He devoted himself to their study, went to Persia, and called himself Mani, or, as the Romans called him, Manichæus. He now came in contact with the sacred books of the Christians, and began his patchwork from all the faiths which he had been learning. After this point in his career the Eastern and Western accounts are, in general, parallel. The rapid increase of his followers, his winning eloquence, his temperate life, his checkered history at the Persian court, and his violent death, A. D. 277, are sustained by both the Eastern and Western historians.

There is no trace of the Platonic system in Mani. The father of light rules over the realm of light. He is the original God, and the truth emanates from him. Pure spirits proceed from him; they are only himself in his manifestations. There is a dark kingdom in which all evil dwells. These two kingdoms exist beside each other, and have become mingled. Out of this confusion the visible world has become evolved. Man has a spiritual nature and a corrupt body. The light nature is concentrated in man, but efforts are made to draw him down and obscure the light within him. This is the secret of the trial in paradise. Evil appears in the serpent and represents the evil principle of the universe. Christ, or the spirit of the sun, prevents the final success of the evil principle. Mani represents himself as the Paraclete promised by Christ, and he accordingly appointed twelve masters, or apostles, and, in addition, sixty-two

EASTERN TRADITION OF MANI'S HISTORY.

WESTERN TRADITION OF MANI.

MANI'S COMBINATION OF DUALISM AND FATALISM.

bishops and a large number of minor officers. The Old Testament was rejected, and Mani reserved the right to say what parts of the New Testament should be accepted.

The followers of Mani, or the Manichæans, spread very rapidly in various parts of the Persian empire, and even in the eastern part of the Roman empire. Its numbers attracted the attention of Diocletian, who issued an edict A. D. 296, declaring death and confiscation of property upon all members of the Manichæan body. There was a special ground of hostility in the fact that Rome was at that time at war with Persia, and the Manichæans were regarded as a powerful ally of the Persian enemy. They regarded themselves, as many as were elect, as holy, and even possessed of power to communicate forgiveness of sins to catechumens. They celebrated the Lord's Supper without wine, but regarded this sacrament as symbolizing only the sufferings of Jesus. They observed Sunday, and had their chief annual festival in March, the Bema, in memory of the martyrdom of Mani.

FOLLOWERS
OF MANI.

¹ The best book on Manichæism is Beausobre, *Hist. Crit. de Maniché et du Manichæisme*, Amst., 1734, 1739, 2 vols., 4to. The best of the more recent investigators is Kessler, in his *Genesis of Manichæism*. Leipz., 1876; in his book on Mani, Leipz., 1882; and in his articles in Herzog and Plitt, ix, 223-259. For the sources, full literature, and an admirable treatment, see Schaff, vol. iii, 6th ed., 1892, pp. 498-508.

CHAPTER X.

INDEPENDENT GNOSTICISM.

SATURNINUS was a resident of Antioch and was a contemporary of Hadrian. He held that there are two kingdoms, light and darkness. They are opposed to each other. The supreme Father has produced orders of being, angels, archangels, powers, and rulers,

SATURNINUS. from whom have come seven angels. These last are the sovereigns over the material world, and among them is the God of the Jews. Man was created, but was not free from infirmity, because of the subordinate character of his creator and his own material body. The supreme God breathed into him a spark of the divine power, and a Saviour came to the world in order to aid him toward his final development. The emphasis placed by Saturninus on the evil inherent in matter led him to enjoin asceticism on his followers. He prohibited matrimony and the use of meats.¹

Tatian was a native of Assyria, but resided in Rome and taught rhetoric. He was converted to Christianity through the influence of Justin Martyr and became a zealous defender of Christianity, especially against Crescens. After the death of Justin he became fascinated with the Gnostic doctrines and adopted them. Henceforth he was a strong advocate of them, both by the pen and by public addresses. He died about A. D. 174. His views more nearly approached the Syrian type than any other. His chief characteristic was his antagonism to marriage. In his work on Christian Perfection he makes matrimony a subject of special treatment,² and declares against it in violent language. He numbered Adam among the lost because he had a wife. The fanatical sects of Eneaites and Hydroparastians were followers of Tatian, their distinguishing quality being asceticism. The adherents of Tatian are to be found as late as the fourth century.³ The name of

¹ Iren., i, 24, 28; Hip., vii, 3, 28; Tert., Præs. Hier., xvi; Eusebius, iv, 22, 29; Epiph., Haer., xxiii.

² Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα κατὰρτισμοῦ. Clem., Strom., 3, 12.

³ Ἐνπαρίται (continent, temperate); ὕδροπαράστῳται (water-drinkers, from their use of water instead of wine in the Lord's Supper). On Tatian, see Eusebius, H. E., iv, 16, 28, 29; vi, 13; Iren., i, 28; iii, 23; Epiph., xli.

Tatian has acquired vast interest of late because of the discovery of an Arabic translation of his Diatessaron, in 1886—the first harmony of the four gospels. It was prepared while he was a catholic.

The absurdities in doctrine and morals increased steadily, and to such an extent that the more serious Gnostic thinkers became alarmed for the respectability and very existence of their doctrines. Marcion and his school represent the Gnostic effort to reform itself—to eliminate all that was unworthy and false, and to add, from any quarter, whatever might strengthen its general position. Marcion was a native of Pontus, and embraced Christianity as an intellectual movement, but without any thorough spiritual appreciation of it. He was excommunicated by his father, the bishop of Sinope, in the province of Pontus, on account of heretical opinions. About A. D. 150 he went to Rome, where he came in contact with Cerdo, a Syrian Gnostic, by whom he was induced to adopt the Gnostic views. He conceived the idea of removing from Gnosticism all adventitious opinions and presenting it to the world as the only safe faith.

MARCION.

Marcion avoided the extremes of his predecessors. He saw a hopeless antagonism between the Old and New Testament, righteousness and grace, law and gospel, Judaism and Christianity. Corresponding with these was the chasm between the good and evil God, and midway stood the third deity—the righteous God. Marcion recognized Paul as the only veritable apostle, but rejected the pastoral epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews. He admitted only one gospel, probably a distortion of Luke's gospel. He guarded his system very carefully from Judaism on the one hand and paganism on the other. He rejected all faith in tradition and esoteric doctrines, the allegorical interpretation so dear to the Gnostics, and all forms of emanation. He organized his followers into an ecclesiastical body. In the cult which he adopted for his followers he employed only the simplest forms.

MARCION'S
OPINIONS.

Marcion divided his followers into the elect and catechumens, but gave the latter the privilege of attending all the services. He required of the elect the strictest asceticism and the withdrawal from all worldly enjoyments. He is said to have repented, late in life, of his Gnostic vagaries, and to have sought readmission into the Church, but died before it could take place. Of all the Gnostics, Marcion was the nearest approach to

MARCION'S
FOLLOWERS.

¹ Dollinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 33.

² Kurtz, *Handbuch*, pp. 149, ff.

³ Tertullian, *De Præser. Har.*, xxx.

the sincere Christian.¹ His life was correct, and he took great pains to guard his followers from falling into the dangers by which so many other disciples of the Gnostic teachers were ruined. But this very approach to Christianity made him all the more dangerous a foe. Many persons, influenced by the zeal of his followers, could see but little difference between his opinions and the general Christian system, and hence adopted them. His followers were to be met with in Rome in the fifth century, and many were scattered throughout Italy, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, though divided into many small groups. The three most important disciples of Marcion were Markos, Lukanus, and Apelles. The two former adapted his system to Saturninus's opinions, while the latter transmuted the master's views largely into the old traditional Alexandrian Gnosticism. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrho, in North Syria (423-457), brought many of these Marcionites back into the Church. They occupied eight villages in his diocese.² "I freed more than a thousand souls from the disease of Marcion," he says.

With all this remarkable diversity in individual adherents there were characteristics by which the Gnostic was easily distinguishable. He adopted the gnosis, the knowledge, as the one great object, above faith and all other desirable things. As to what is knowledge, and who is to test it, he reserved all rights to himself. Whatever the fundamental differences between the various Gnostic schools, the Gnostics as a whole were so united by common affinities that it is not often difficult to distinguish the Gnostic from the Christian. All Gnostics find some place for Christ. Now it is higher and now lower, but always he is somewhere in their faith. But he is never a personality in whom there must be an individual faith that leads to salvation. He is only a principle of general cosmical development, a ruler who brings order out of chaos. He is not the Saviour of men, but the active principle of the world's development.³ His work was an act of power, not of love. Christ's place was de-

POINTS IN COMMON WITH ALL GNOSTICS.

¹ "Marcion, though grievously erring from the path of Christian believers, was yet full of Christian feeling." Bright, *Waymarks of Church History* (Lond., 1894, p. 26).

² Theod., Ep. lxxxii.

³ Ep. cxliii. Schroeckh gives authorities for full information on Marcion and his school, ii, pp. 412, f. See Justin Mar. I Apol., xvi and xviii; Iren., i. 28; iv, 33; Tertullian, Adv. Marcionem; Hilgenfeld, Cerdon und Marcion, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, Leipz., 1881, pp. 1-37; Salmon, in Smith and Wace; Schaff, ii, 492-497; Neander, i, 458-476, 616-618; Meyboom, in his *Marcion en de Marcioniten* (Leiden, 1888), has investigated Marcion afresh.

⁴ Baur, *Kirchengeschichte d. drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 3 Aufl., p. 174.

fined by philosophical speculation, not by revealed truth. Intuition was guide, and not the written word.

Here the Gnostic reversed the Christian order. The Christian begins by confession of his ignorance, and comes to the inspired truth for light. The Gnostic begins by a claim of knowledge.¹ He sets out with a knowledge of the divine, and goes into all spaces with his wisdom, and defines the bounds of the universe with bold speech. His is such knowledge as he has spun, spider-like, out of himself. The Christian comes from his darkness to the sanctuary, where he hopes for illumination and comfort. The Gnostic, with some appreciation of need, wanders amid the luxuriant garden of the world's faiths, and plucks a flower here and another there, as may suit his fancy at the hour. Gnosticism suits only the bold and fearless, the self-conscious dreamer of a new faith. Christianity was the hope of the poor and timid. Gnosticism was the Pharisee, who stood with bold front and boasted of his holiness; Christianity was the sorrowing woman, who had only the courage to touch the edge of the robe of the Physician. The Gnostic selected and had a system without unity and achieving force. The Christian remains steadily in guard of his religion, hopeful, but often in the storm, and triumphs in the end. Only few of the Gnostics established societies which they dignified with the name of a church. Marcion is probably the only one who gathered about him a church in the strict sense as a substitute for the Christian Church.

The Gnostic groups were simply philosophical schools, with some superiors as teachers. There was no cohesive power in any one of them. The gnosis was a good basis, just shadowy enough for speculation on the infinite eons, but was not masterful in mundane guidance. It was without conserving power. It lacked intuition of the good by which to see its own evils and to return to the Christian fold. Who hears of any important school coming back to Christ? The gnosis unfitted its adherents for all steady thought, the crowning evil of the whole system of Gnostic theories. One after another the schools disappeared. From Rome to the Tigris and from Syene to the western shore of the Euxine the Gnostic groups passed into a corrupt existence, or, what was better, ceased to exist.

But Gnosticism, with all its native weakness, was the most dangerous foe thus far encountered. Christianity had proven its power by the conquest of Judaism and paganism, each in its individuality. But it now achieved a greater victory. It con-

¹Ritter, *Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie*, i, pp. 233, ff.

THE Gnostic
REVERSING
THE CHRISTIAN
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THE Gnostic
GROUPS WERE
NOT CHURCHES
BUT PHILO-
SOPHICAL
SCHOOLS.

quered them both in their fusion, not only with each other, but
 GNOSTICISM · with the fantastic and nebulous fancies that had floated
 THE MOST into Syria, Alexandria, and Asia Minor from the East.
 DANGEROUS
 FOE TO CHRIS- There was never an indication of sympathy with Gnosti-
 TIANITY. cism, in any form, on the part of the Church. There was
 no Gnostic from Cerinthus down to the last of the Marcionite school
 who was so near an approach to the real Christian as Marcion. Yet
 he had no friends in the Church. He was regarded with special
 aversion, perhaps because of the great danger that his views might be
 mistaken for pure Christianity. The interview alleged to have taken
 place between him and the pure Polycarp one day in a street in
 Rome represents fairly the attitude of Christianity toward Gnos-
 ticism as a whole. Polycarp was stopped by Marcion, who asked
 him the question, "Do you not recognize me?" The father,
 bending beneath his many years, and yet with a quick eye to dis-
 cover an enemy of the truth anywhere, quickly replied, "Certainly,
 I know the firstborn of Satan."¹

¹ Irenæus, iii, 3; Eusebius, H. E., iv, 14; Jerome, Cat., 171.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MONTANISTIC REFORM.

THAT peculiar and mysterious development of ecclesiastical life which bears the name of Montanism, from its founder, was a reaction against that worldly spirit and lax ecclesiastical discipline which came into the foreground during the intervals of tolerance. No religious phenomenon has been subjected to keener criticism or made the subject of more unguarded panegyric. The historian, who sees in every extravagant phenomenon only the creation of a morbid imagination, relegates it to the department of wild and unwholesome fanaticism; while he who, like the early Mystics and Gottfried Arnold of a later day, looks upon such movements as the only conserving forces in critical times, mistakenly elevates it into a special providential agency of the real Church and the embodiment of the divine Spirit in a period of general decline and danger. Both views are wrong. Real justice lies midway between the extremes. Montanism was propagated with pure, but often mistaken, motives. It saw evils of serious character, and proposed to remove them by its severer teaching and self-denying example. The authorities of the Church were just in repudiating the extravagancies, but were far out of the way in attributing improper motives to the Montanists, and lacked that high order of wisdom which could select the good element from any new movement and assimilate it for its own greater firmness and enhanced purity. Montanism was in its last analysis a reaction in favor of primitive Christianity, though, like most movements of Christian Puritanism, it went to an extreme.¹

EXTREME
VIEWS ON
MONTANISM.

Montanus was a native of Phrygia, and possessed that warm temperament and love of the marvelous and ecstatic which had been peculiar to his countrymen from the time when they emerged from mythical darkness and took their place among the settled peoples of Asia Minor. Phrygia had a civilization of its own.² It was a

¹ Bonwetsch, *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*. Erlangen, 1881, the best book on the subject. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A. D. 170*, p. 437, agrees with this view.

² Neander showed the influence of Phrygia on Montanism, and he has been followed by Renan, *Marcus Aurelius* (in *Origins of Christianity*), chap. xiii. Ramsay (*l. c.*, p. 438) calls Montanism the "Church-according-to-the-Phrygians."

fragrant garden, inclosed one very side by high mountains, whose cool breath mingled with the warm air of the valley, and developed a people at once gifted with a tropical sensibility, a luxuriant imagination, and a love of the marvelous, and yet endowed with a strong physical organization, which made them hardy and valiant soldiers in the most distant campaigns and the most fiercely contested fields of war. Their spirit was proud, and glowed with ecstasy as their minstrels sang of the deeds of their forefathers in the heroic age. They claimed for their mountains the high antiquity of having first appeared above the declining flood when Deucalion and his sons stepped out of their boat and went forth to repeople and subdue the earth.

The worship of the Phrygians was of the coarse kind, in which there was no element of sensual enjoyment, but only a rigorous dealing with themselves. The holiest worshiper reached his highest development through self-mutilation. The great nature Mother, or Cybele, who was also worshiped in Bithynia and Lydia, was here honored with a wildness of devotion as nowhere else. Her minister, Attis, or the mutilated Adonis, was honored with a worship of his own, in which the hoarse kettledrum and the plaintive Phrygian cymbal made music to the wild Sycinnis, the spiral dance of the rhapsodical devotees.¹ Divination and clairvoyance, heightened by contemplation, were claimed as special endowments of the priesthood. The people were firm believers in vision and all similar preternatural possessions, and no claim of priestly gifts was too extravagant for the blind devotion of the average Phrygian worshiper. The stress of political disaster only fanned the flame of his national worship. He had been trampled and ground by many masters—the Lydian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman—but his temperament was all the warmer and his love for his native faith suffered no loss. His cities grew into wealth and power. Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis preserved the memory of ancient glory when Phrygia was a powerful and independent kingdom, but still the primitive worship was preserved. Even the Greek tongue, which had made the Phrygian only the dialect of rustics and slaves, had not blotted out the old faith.

Christianity now came, and the communities which Paul founded were the first to arrest the old worship of Cybele and Attis. In due time Phrygian Christianity took its place in the great network of the Church, and, though isolated from the great outlying world, claimed equal love for all the in-

THE PHRYGIAN
HOME OF
MONTANUS.

THE PHRYGIAN
CULT.

THE OLD WOR-
SHIP ARRESTED
BY CHRISTIAN-
ITY.

¹ Dollinger, *Jew and Gentile*, i, pp. 376, 377.

stitutions and its full share in shaping the policy and life of the general Church. But there was no uprooting of the natural temperament. The temples of the old faith had shared in the general neglect of other parts of the Roman empire, but beneath the new religion there still lay that love of the marvelous and the invisible, that general faith in special spiritual endowments, and, most of all, that implicit confidence in a perpetual prophecy of the divinely inspired.

Out of this element Montanism emerged. It was a Christian figure, vital and glowing with all the peculiarities of the undisturbed Phrygian character, yet ardent with a love of Christianity as given by Christ and organized by his first apostles. Montanus, of Ardaban, appeared upon the scene of ecclesiastical life about the middle of the second century. He had been a priest in the still lingering, but rapidly declining, worship of Cybele. When he accepted Christianity he parted with all the essential elements of his former faith. There was not a trace of the idolater left. But the scars which his old religion had made he bore upon him into the new battlefield. He was still the prophet and the visionary. Without much culture, and with a profound contempt of pagan learning, because of its supposed hostility to Christianity, he proposed the regeneration of Christianity by the practical life. In no character do we find such a remarkable blending of these two diverse elements—the practical and the visionary. He claimed that there are three persons in the Godhead—Father, Son, and Spirit—and that through himself the third person, the Paraclete, prophesied to the world. He never declared that he was himself the Paraclete, but only the organ of his operation. Two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, claimed similar inspiration, and these three, with their followers, called themselves Pneumatics. The fact that Montanus tolerated prophetesses had its anticipation in the old worship of Cybele and in the example of other pagan faiths. Asia Minor had its sibyls, Delphi its Pythonesses, and Corinth its female temple-slaves of Venus. This female accompaniment of Montanism proved a great disadvantage, and was constantly appealed to by its enemies as a certain proof of its pagan relationship. This was unfair on their part, however, as in this respect Montanus stood simply on the ground of the primitive Church.

MONTANUS A
COMBINATION
OF THE PRACTICAL
AND THE
VISIONARY.

The doctrines of Montanus constitute an incongruous system. He avowed a special mission for the improvement of the Church. To bring about this great result there were certain truths which must be accepted, and he was the instru-

THE MONTANISTIC SYSTEM.

ment for their communication. The Church must accept them as a condition of its salvation. There will be a speedy end of the world, after which the millennial reign of Christ will begin. The economy of salvation consists of three stages, or successive movements—the period of primeval revelation until the incarnation; that of the Christian revelation, which closes with the person of Christ, and the apostolical group; and that of the revelation of the Paraclete, which will continue through all remaining Christian history. The Father and the Son are of one substance, equal in rank, and omnipotence. But the Son emanates from the Father, and the Paraclete emanates from the Son. They are all one. The Church is pure and true, and can tolerate no impure element in its fold—“*ecclesia vera, pudica, sancta, ecclesia virgo.*” There is a universal priesthood of believers. Every real believer is a Pneumatic, and hence a priest. Asceticism is a proper and even necessary mode of cultivating purity. Second marriage is sinful, a forfeiture of pneumatic purity. Martyrdom is the necessary sacrifice which the Christian must render, if the exigency is sufficient, for the attainment of salvation. Penitence, in all its stages, must take place after sin. But a total lapse, by sacrificing to idols, excludes from restoration to the Church, though not necessarily from divine forgiveness.¹

When the system of Montanus was fully developed the Church took note of it as a most dangerous element. Montanistic communities sprang up throughout Phrygia and began to spread into the neighboring regions. The bishop Julianus, of Apamea, took pains to win them back into harmony with the Church. They did not constitute a schism, but *ecclesiola* in *ecclesia*, similar to the societies organized by Spener within the bosom of the German Protestant Church in the seventeenth century. The mild measures of Julianus failed of their end. More heroic treatment was now adopted. Two synods were held, one in Hierapolis, presided over by Apollinaris, the bishop of that city, and a second in Anchialus, in the year 170, under the charge of the bishop Sotas. At both of these councils the Montanists were condemned and excommunicated, and their doctrines pronounced heretical. Phrygian Montanism now suffered a serious check. The communities declined, and gradually lost their popular support, in the very place of their origin. In addition to synodical proscription a strong literary activity was developed against them in Asia Minor. The most prominent writers were

¹ Schwegler, *Der Montanismus und die Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 24-76.

Miltiades, Claudius Apollinaris, Apollonius, Serapion, and an anonymous author¹—all of whose works have disappeared.

Just at the time when it would seem that Montanism was nearly conquered, and was about to take its place among the many spent phenomena of the imaginative East, it acquired a remarkable support in the West. The Church which had produced it had now disowned it, but there were acute minds, far removed from the local prejudices and personal animosities, who saw in it an element of good for the general cause of Christianity. Very often a movement needs to be seen from the distance in order to be measured with judicial fairness. The men who have no friendships to foster or grievances to settle, and can calmly form an opinion of a cause without regard to the contestants on either side, are the best judges of every great reform. This was precisely the case with Montanism. Its nearest critics saw in it only a modified worship of Cybele, with execrable Christian variations. But those were days when the leaders of the Church learned quickly what was going on in distant parts, and were capable of recognizing the good in any corner of Christendom. To them Montanism was something more than a dreamy pagan faith beneath a thin Christian drapery.

WESTERN
SUPPORT OF
MONTANISM.

These friends of Montanism induced a bishop of Rome, of whom history makes no mention, to send "letters of peace,"² as Tertullian calls them, to the catholic bishops of Phrygia, presumably advising a conciliatory dealing. But through the evil representations of Praxeas and Caius, the narrower policy was restored, and the catholic Church, East and West, united in putting down the unfortunate Phrygian Puritans. It was formerly the opinion of Church historians that the persecuted churches of Gaul sent letters to the Roman bishop, in which they pleaded strongly for the Montanists. But this opinion is now abandoned, as it rests on no ancient testimony whatever. On the contrary, Eusebius, who regarded the Montanists as incorrigible heretics, and stood squarely with the catholic Church in condemning them, expressly says that the letter sent by the churches of Lyons was

BOTH EAST
AND WEST
UNITED IN CON-
DEMNATION.

¹ Probably Rhodon, Jerome, Cat., 37.

² Adv. Prax., i: "For after the bishop of Rome [perhaps Victor, A. D. 190] had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and in consequence of the acknowledgment had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia, he [Praxeas], by importunately urging false accusations against the prophets themselves and their churches, and insisting on the authority of the bishop's predecessors in the see, compelled him to recall the letters of peace which he had issued, as well as to desist from his purpose of acknowledging the gifts" [*charismata*].

"prudent and most orthodox,"¹ a commendation which he would not have given had that letter been favorable to the Phrygians. It is likely, indeed, that it was the support of the bishops of Gaul to the condemnation of the Montanists on the part of the bishops of Asia Minor which prompted the pliable bishop at Rome to recall his previous note, not being able to resist the united voice of Gaul and Asia.

But with the opposition of Rome the Montanism of the West did not die. There were many Christians, and not a few bishops among them, who regarded their treatment as unjust in the extreme, and believed that their cause was at this juncture a necessary agency for the purification and preservation of the Church. The Church of North Africa now became the most powerful advocate of Montanism. This was brought about in large measure by the example of the presbyter Tertullian, of Carthage. He was at this time the most learned and powerful theologian in the Western Church. His writings had gained him a hearing in the extreme parts of the Church, both Eastern and Western. His treatises on Martyrs, Idolatry, and the Soldier's Crown had endeared him to the heart of universal Christendom, while his *Apologeticus* had proven him apt to resist the most invidious and learned attacks of pagan writers. In his practical works on Patience, Prayer, Baptism, Repentance, and the Husband he had already expressed profound sympathy with the needful development of the practical piety of believers, and with a strict view of Christians in the presence of the lax tendencies of his times. His acceptance of Montanism was, therefore, not the work of a day; nor did it come about through personal grievance, or ambition, or a love of schism, or a visionary state of mind. It was a course which he adopted after a calm reflection and from the purest motives. He made allowance for the grosser features of Montanism, and accepted its better part with clear conscience, a warm love of the Church, and an intense desire for purity in its members. He wrote much after he became a Montanist, and emphasized the points which Montanism made prominent as vital to the Church.²

¹ Eusebius, H. E., v. 3. Salmon, in Dictionary of Christian Biography, Sects, by Smith and Wace, iii. 937, has set this matter in its true light. He is followed by McGiffert, on Eusebius, as above (p. 219).

² Neander gives an excellent grouping of Tertullian's works, classified according to both topics and periods in his literary activity. Comp. Antignostikus, in History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, vol. ii, pp. 208, ff.

But with all the new splendor which gathered about Montanism through the defense of Tertullian and the strong support of the North African Church, the system was doomed. The councils had condemned it, and its first objectionable accompaniments, such as ecstacy, vision, chiliasm, and prophetesses, were perpetually hurled against it as unfit for confidence and an enemy to the peace and development of the Church. Its stronger qualities were overlooked in the vigorous warfare upon it. Even its best declarations, and, above all, the moral purity of its advocates, counted for nothing in such a bitter strife. The defenders of episcopal prerogative found it, at best, an inconvenient thing. In their steady policy, even now taking shape, of building up an irresistible central authority, they could expect no support from such independent minds.

THE DOOM OF
MONTANISM.

The emperors saw no hope of softening its moral strictness and its hostility to political interference in the administration of the Church. All the Christian emperors after Constantine pursued, therefore, the same repressive policy. In North Africa it continued to live, however, but under the name of a sect of Tertullianists. Its last appearance above the surface was in the reign of Justinian. He issued two edicts against it, one in the year 530, and the other in 532, after which it sank out of sight, to reappear, as Schaff well says, under various names and forms and in new combinations—in Novatianism, Donatism, the Spiritualism of the Franciscans, Anabaptism, the Camisard Enthusiasm, Puritanism, Quakerism, Quietism, Pietism, Second Adventism, Irvingism, and so on, by way of protest and wholesome reaction against various evils in the Church.

HOSTILITY OF
THE EMPERORS.

One of the chief reasons for the zeal of the bishops against Montanism was its earnest insistence on the priesthood of all believers, and its opposition to all hierarchical assumptions. In this it anticipated Puritanism and Methodism, with both of which it had many points in common. Wesley was one of the first moderns to speak a strong word for Montanism. He says: "By the best information we can procure at this distance of time it seems that Montanus was

¹ Church History, ii, 426, 7. Harnack, in the first volume of his History of Doctrine, has treated Montanus in an independent spirit. He shows how he stood by the old paths as against the Catholic and hierarchical tendency. F. De Soyres, Montanism and the Primitive Church. Camb., 1878. See the voluminous notes of McGiffert in his Eusebius, pp. 229-237. Of importance are Belck, Geschichte des Montanismus, Leipz., 1883, and Hilgenfeld's great work, D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums, Leipz., 1884, pp. 500-600; Salmon, in Smith and Wace, s. v.; Newman, in Baptist Rev., 1884, 527-539.

not only a truly good man, but one of the best men then upon earth; and that his real crime was the severely reproving those who professed themselves Christians while they neither had the mind that was in Christ nor walked as Christ walked, but were conformable, both in their temper and practice, to the present evil world."¹ Here, as well as elsewhere, Wesley anticipates the verdict of the most recent historians, like Harnack and McGiffert, who have completely reversed the judgment of the old writers.²

¹ Tract on "The Real Character of Montanus," in Works, 5th ed., Lond., 14 vols., vol. xi, pp. 485, 486.

² In his sermon on the Wisdom of God, Wesley calls Montanus "one of the holiest men of the second century," vol. vi, 228. See also ii, 206 (Journal, Aug. 15, 1750): i, 47, 50, 51 (Letter to Middleton).

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS.

THE general tendency of the political and theological pressure upon the Church from without was toward internal consolidation and organic unity. This, indeed, has been the wholesome effect of opposition in all later periods. Christianity is no tropical plant, adapted only to the bright sunshine, balmy air, and sweet repose of long summer days, but is destined for all seasons through all the centuries. The very storms that have beaten about it have been strong forces toward making its roots deeper and of farther reach, and its fiber of finer and more resisting quality. During the whole period from its founding down to its liberation by Constantine from the bondage of pagan rulers a constant internal solidification was taking place. The subtle moral agencies were steadily at work by which Christianity might grow into a symmetrical and organic unity. But while this was the general character of its development, the opposition to Christianity had its secondary effect upon the corporate life of the Church. How shall the opposition be met? What shall be the method of resistance? How must the Church deal with those who have surrendered during the stress of storm? and, now that the storm is spent, how shall the lapsed be dealt with? Must these apostates be considered as erring only in an evil hour, to come back again with cordial welcome, or be regarded as having forever lost their Christian birthright here and their hope of salvation hereafter?

These were serious questions—far more, even, than that more public one of encountering enemies. How to deal with friends has always been to the Church a more difficult problem than how to oppose its adversaries. It has been an immeasurably greater task to manage with a care that can lead back the erring into harmony of spirit and preserve them against harm, and the Church against harm from them, than to march forth with heroic soul against defiant foes. For this new issue the Church was well prepared. It had triumphed in warfare against pronounced enemies, and the sequel will show that it possessed equal power to deal with those of its own household.

The persecutions of the Christians were not met with uniform firmness. The general attitude was that of chivalrous sacrifice and a readiness to meet death sooner than renounce faith in Christ; but there were others who yielded and returned to their former idols. When the opposition ceased the lapsed, in numerous cases, proposed to return to the Christian fold. The ordeal which the Church laid down for their restoration was severe, and extended over a series of lengthy stages of penitence. For a time it seemed as if this course would satisfy all the demands of the crisis, but other questions were involved, and especially the final and most serious of all—whether a lapsed Christian who had once been baptized, and in temptation had forsworn his faith and committed his example and word to the accursed paganism, should ever be fully restored to the Christian communion and be regarded as though he had never fallen.

THE MANNER
OF DEALING
WITH PENI-
TENTS.

On this grave question the most important issues depended, and out of it grew not less than five serious schisms, covering an entire century, or from the middle of the third to the middle of the fourth century. Indeed, we find clear traces of some of these schisms not less than four centuries after the death of the men who had organized them. The schisms were confined to no particular locality. Their broad geographical scope is a strong witness to the gravity of the danger with which they threatened the Church and the serious nature of the questions which produced them. The Christians of Spain, in the West, were hardly less disturbed than those of Syria in the East; while their brethren up the Nile and on the borders of the great desert were in similar convulsion with those on the shores of the Black Sea. The threat of internal division within was equally extensive with the fires of martyrdom which hostile hands had kindled.

FIVE SCHISMS
ARISING FROM
THE TREAT-
MENT OF PENI-
TENTS.

First in order was the schism of Felicissimus, which arose in Carthage, but extended its force as far westward as the shore of the Atlantic. No unanimity has been reached as to the prime motive of Felicissimus. There was, no doubt, some jealousy of Cyprian's episcopal office, but the ostensible ground of offense was the method of his election as bishop and his subsequent lenient dealing with the lapsed. Cyprian was an accomplished scholar and a skillful rhetorician. He was led by the presbyter Cæcilius to accept Christianity. His accession was regarded as a great triumph for the African Church, and all the greater because of the frequent alternations of persecution through which the Church was passing and the supreme need of able confessors. Cyprian was baptized in the year 317, and in 348 was elected

FELICISSIMUS
AND CYPRIAN.

Bishop of Carthage. The process was too rapid for the strict law of the Church, and furnished a very plausible pretext for opposition to the election. Five presbyters, who were in charge of communities in Carthage and the surrounding country, declared the election illegal, and took measures for governing their own churches without regard to Cyprian's authority. The most defiant of the number was Novatus, who assumed episcopal functions himself, and ordained Felicissimus to the diaconate.

This was a bold invasion of Cyprian's prerogatives, but he was calm and conciliatory, and even permitted Felicissimus to administer his new office, to which he had been ordained by other hands. Felicissimus was a strong partisan, and had a singular power in organizing men into a firm and united body. His adherents, with the powerful aid of Novatus, multiplied rapidly. Cyprian, meanwhile, was careful, for he had the rare quality of accommodating himself to the needs of the hour. So far did he pursue this counsel that the charge of inconsistency can be justly made against him. At one time, before the Decian persecution, he was firm in refusing to grant absolution to any who had lapsed after baptism. He was then the representative, in the African Church, of vigorous dealing with apostasy. But during the Decian persecution there was an alarming in-

INVASION OF
CYPRIAN'S
OFFICE.

crease of the lapsed. So great was their number that they threatened the very integrity of the Church; they stood at the entrance of the Christian fold with demands. The evil had grown into alarming proportions. When Christians announced their readiness, in the hour of danger, to renounce their religion, they were furnished by the imperial officers with letters of release, and were therefore called Libellatics. A certificate of this kind (a libellus) was discovered for the first time in 1894 among the papyrus manuscripts in the Berlin Museum. In the same year another was discovered among the papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna, a specimen of the rich treasures Egypt has unearthed for us of late. The following is a translation of the Rainer libellus:

INCREASE OF
THE LAPSED.

"To the Commissioners of sacrifices of the village of Philadelphia: from Aurelii, Syrus and Pasheius his brother, and Demetria and Serapias our wives, dwellers without the gate. We always continued in sacrificing to the gods, and now in your presence according to the [emperor's] orders, both offered a libation, and tasted of the sacrifices, and [we desire you] to attest [this] for us.

THE LIBELLUS.

"May you continue prosperous.

"We, Aurelii, Syrus and Pasbes, have presented [this]. I, Isidorus, wrote, as they are unable to write."

Sometimes the officers were bribed to issue certificates to those who had not complied with the conditions.

Others, who likewise lapsed, made application to those about to die for their faith that they might be commended to the Church

CYPRIAN DE-
VOTED TO THE
PRESERVA-
TION OF THE
CHURCH.

for lenient measures, and the persons so commended made use of the high favor in which the memory of the martyrs was held to secure confidence from the Church and ease in reentering its communion. Many arts were practiced by the lapsed to gain restoration. Cyprian saw danger on either hand. Pure himself, he would not countenance impurity in others. But he was intent, above all things, to preserve the Church, even at the sacrifice of admitting, among the worthy, some who were probably otherwise. He claimed the right to revise his methods and administer his office in such way as to conserve the Church. He now took a milder course, and resolved to grant absolution to the lapsed who would pass through the prescribed stages of penitence.

During the Decian persecution Cyprian, whose life was in danger, withdrew for fourteen months into voluntary exile. CYPRIAN'S COMMISSION. During this time his enemies gained the additional prestige of large numbers. While Cyprian was in exile he sent a commission of two bishops and two presbyters to Carthage to make a thorough visitation and administer to the poor out of the funds of the Church. Again Felicissimus protested against him; the Church funds could not be so used, by Cyprian's order, as he was an illegal bishop. It was this visitation by Cyprian's commission which was the chief rock of offense to Felicissimus. He regarded it as a direct usurpation of power. No doubt, also, Cyprian's extravagant pretensions for the monarchical episcopate, of which he was the great advocate, was also a principal cause of the disaffection of the presbyterial party under Novatus.¹ At Easter, 251, however, Cyprian appeared in person in Carthage, and met the annual synod of bishops of North Africa. He was supported by the synod, and Felicissimus and his party were formally excommunicated from the Church.²

In studying the history of the Church one seldom knows when

¹ In this we agree with Neander (i, 223) and Moeller (p. 262), as against Schaff (ii, 194).

² The Epistles of Cyprian, 39-40, 42, 55, are the only authority for the schism of Felicissimus. We have, therefore, only the enemy's testimony. Neander's is the best modern account, ii, 222-237.

he will finally lose sight of a disquieting mind. The map of the operations of the schismatic is generally very broad. Novatus, no longer able to cope with the strong arm of authority in Carthage, next appeared in Rome. The attitude of the Roman Church had always been one of leniency toward the lapsed, and Novatus now found a fitting field to carry on the warfare which he had conducted vigorously, but finally in vain, in Carthage. This field opened before him by a juncture, brought about by the following events. Fabian, Bishop of Rome, ordained to the priesthood a certain highly gifted man, Novatian. He had been baptized on a sick bed. Everywhere throughout the Church there was serious objection to clinical baptism, because of the doubt as to the motive of the one seeking it. Novatian's case was the more serious because, on his recovery, Fabian had failed to carry out the order of the Church to consummate the baptism by the imposition of his hands.

NOVATUS IN
ROME.

There were, therefore, two difficulties: one, Novatian's clinical baptism, and the other the bishop's neglect to complete the act. Fabian suffered martyrdom in 250, and in the following year Cornelius was elected bishop in his place.

TWO DIFFICULTIES AS TO
BAPTISM.

This interval of a year was a time of serious disturbance. It is not clear that Novatian was desirous of the episcopal office, but the event proved that he was ready to accept it. He represented the vigorous method of dealing with the lapsed, or, at least, he came to represent the harsher method, though at the first, as Harnack shows,¹ the controversy was a personal one purely, and all who shared this view rallied to his standard.

Novatus now appeared upon the scene. He was determined to secure the election of Novatian as bishop, in rivalry against Cornelius. Three bishops, living at a distance from Rome, were induced to repair thither, and they ordained Novatian to the bishopric. The latter immediately communicated the fact of his consecration to Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. But no recognition of his election was returned, though efforts were made in those great centers to raise up strong parties in the interest of Novatian. Many of the Roman clergy and laity, who had disapproved of the measures by which Novatian was admitted into the Church, took side with the party of which he was the head. In due time their inconsistency became apparent to themselves. How could they favor a man as bishop whose baptism they had disapproved? They gradually ceased opposition, withdrew all fellowship with the schism of Novatian, and returned to the Church. No-

RETURN OF
THE ROMAN
CLERGY TO
THE CHURCH.

¹ In Herzog and Plitt, *Encyclopædia*, s. v.

vatian and his entire party were excommunicated, and the movement lost all formidable character.

Novatian and his followers did not depart materially from the received doctrines of the Church, and differed only in their severe treatment of the lapsed in rebaptizing those entering their communion from the Church, and, in some cases, in condemning second marriages. The Council of Nice adopted a mild course toward them, but they refused to return to the Church. The Roman Church finally adopted its ordinary policy of repression. In Rome Innocent I (402-417) closed their churches, and Celestine I (432-438) forbade them to worship in public. They constituted a party in the Church, especially in the East, as late as the end of the sixth century, and bore the name of Cathari, or The Pure.¹

Thus far there had been only minor and occasional differences between the Churches of Rome and North Africa. But now there arose a fundamental divergence of opinion, which was without question one of the chief initial causes for that later division into the Eastern and Western Churches which has descended to the present time, having steadily resisted all measures toward restoration. But as we survey the whole field of the dispute which now arose between Carthage and Rome, it becomes clear that the question of rebaptism of heretics was of subordinate importance. The fundamental issue was the primacy of the Roman bishop over all bishops in the East or the West. It is not improbable that the remnants of the Novatian schism became an element of disturbance. Stephen, who became Bishop of Rome in 253, or more likely in 254, favored the validity of baptism by schismatics and heretics, on the ground that baptism, as an objective institution founded by Christ, carried with it its own indorsement when administered with the right intention and in the name of the Trinity or of Christ. In this he seems to have been in accord with the tradition in Rome.

In every part of the territory of the Church baptism had been

¹ "Novatian was the first theologian of the Church of Rome," says Harnack, "who developed a comprehensive literary activity in the Latin language, but of his works only his *De Sabbato*, *De Circumcisione*, and *De Trinitate* have come down to us." In the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Chr. Lit. ed., v. 604-650, will be found a translation of his works on the Trinity and his lay letter on the Jewish meats. The authorities are Cyprian, *Epistles*, 44, 45, 49, 50, 55, 68; *Ensebius*, *H. E.*, vi, 43-45; vii, 8; *Socrates*, *H. E.*, ii, 38; v, 10, 21; vii, 25 (later history). Of modern works, Harnack says that Walch, *Ketzehistorie*, ii, 185-288, is the best, though his own works deserve that honor: *Herzog and Plitt*, x, 652-667, and *Dogmengeschichte*, i, 339-343. See Neander, i, 222, 237-248, 690.

THE COUNCIL
OF NICE AND
THE NOVA-
TIAN.

DISPUTE BE-
TWEEN CAR-
THAGE AND
ROME ON THE
PRIMACY OF
ROME.

performed by schismatics, and the voice of the Eastern Churches was against its validity. In Asia Minor, Syria, and throughout North Africa the custom had grown into an order, that such baptisms should not be considered as having any virtue; hence a new baptism was required as a condition of readmission into the Church. The invalidity of schismatic baptism can be definitely traced back to the time of Bishop Agrippinus, of Carthage, about the year 220,¹ and the synod of Carthage accepted it formally. In BAPTISM BY SCHISMATICS. the year 335 the councils of Iconium and Synnada, in Asia Minor, adopted the same course. This was the point of view occupied by Cyprian of Carthage. He held that there can be but one baptism, one faith, and one hope, and that these alone can be found in the Church and through it. All founders of schisms, such as Felicissimus and Novatian, are only apes, and can do nothing more than imitate a legitimate act. Two Carthaginian synods, of the years 255 and 256, declared in favor of rebaptism—a decision reached through the powerful advocacy of Cyprian. The second synod of Carthage sent its resolution to Rome, where it immediately met with the violent opposition of Stephen, the bishop. The latter replied that this course was new, and that no novelty should be introduced unless it could be supported by tradition.

The controversy now became bitter. Cyprian responded that it was pure obstinacy to confront a divine order with human tradition; that the Roman bishop had nothing to do with the matter further than any other bishop, and that the usage in the CYPRIAN AND STEPHEN. Roman diocese was an old error, and devoid of the truth.² Stephen could give as well as take, and he replied that Cyprian was a pseudo-Christian, a false apostle, a deceptive servant. The result was, Stephen excommunicated the African Church, and thus all relationship ceased between Rome and the Christians of North Africa. A synod of Carthage which immediately succeeded the excommunication repeated its action requiring a new baptism of heretics on their reception into the Church. The Bishop of Rome was himself charged by Cyprian with being a schismatic and a worse heretic than all others, because he attempted to destroy the unity of the Church. The contest became more bitter still, and violent language passed back and forth, in which Stephen of Rome claimed supreme power over the African Church. Cyprian replied that the assumption of Stephen, that he was a

¹ Cyprian, Ep. 73.

² Nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum.

³ Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est. Ep. 74.

"bishop of bishops," was an absurd arrogance, and that Christ alone was supreme.¹

The conflict ran its due course. Each party seemed to breathe more freely after it had exhausted its vocabulary of invective. Peace was restored by a new outbreak of persecution, in which both contestants gave up their lives for their common Lord, Stephen in 257 and Cyprian in 258. The Roman view gradually gained ground, until all parties came together on the following basis: that when a heretic who proposed to reenter the Church had once been bap-

THE BASIS OF
PEACE.

tized in the name of the Trinity, he should be received by the formality of the laying on of hands, as a sign of reconciliation with the Church. This basis was declared by the Council of Arles in 314 and repeated by the Council of Nicaea in 325. The victory of the Roman tradition, though really in the interest of a more tolerant and catholic view—in fact, the triumph of Cyprian's idea would have been an unspeakable calamity—could not do less than help forward the rising primacy of the Church of the Seven Hills. What Rome gains she keeps, and she never forgets.²

The Meletian schism likewise arose from a difference of opinion concerning the proper treatment of the lapsed. During the Dio-

THE MELETIAN
SCHISM.

cletian persecution, which was more abundant than any other in the number of apostates, Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in the Thebaid, held that no lapsed Christian should

¹ Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et proponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. Cyprian, ad Conc. Carth. de Baptismo (Migne, iii, 1034). So bitter were some of the expressions used by Cyprian and his colleagues against the Bishop of Rome that some Roman scholars have thought that the letters in which they occur are spurious. For this suspicion there is not the slightest reason, as is now acknowledged by all scholars. The correspondence reveals the deep gulf between the papacy of the second century and that of the nineteenth.

² The letters of Stephen are not preserved. The other party certainly dealt in invective sharp enough.

³ The modern Roman Catholic practice of rebaptizing Anglicans and other Protestants, using the formula, "If thou hast not been baptized, I baptize thee," on the ground of a possible defect in the first administration, is a grave lapse from the practice vindicated by Stephen. For the authorities, see Eusebius, H. E., vii, 3-5; Cyprian, Epistles, 70-76, and the Acts of the Councils of Carthage, A. D. 255, 256. For modern discussions, see Neander, ii, 317-323; Barmby, art. "Stephanus I," in Smith and Wace; and Benson, art. "Cyprianus," in the same; Steitz, in Herzog and Plitt, vii, 652-661; Grisar, in Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 1881.

be restored to Church fellowship while the persecution lasted (305). This was his claim, but he had a grievance against his metropolitan, Peter of Alexandria. Peter had withdrawn during the persecution, and not only was the administration of his own office interrupted, but many of the bishops were in prison. Meletius saw the need of proper episcopal service, and proceeded to exercise his office within the jurisdiction of other bishops, and he even assumed metropolitan functions. He was warned by the imprisoned bishops, and also by Peter, against such assumption of authority. The admonitions were without effect upon him, and he, in turn, fulminated severe charges against his absent episcopal associates.

The schism assumed large proportions and extended throughout the Egyptian Church. The Nicene council, whose treatment of all schismatic movements was singularly mild and judicious, sought to accommodate the matter and win back the followers of Meletius by acknowledging the validity of the ordinations by Meletius, but enjoining an enforcement of them by the imposition of hands by regular bishops; by preserving the rank and orders of the twenty-nine Meletian bishops, but withholding the power to discharge their functions until the death of the regular bishops in the same territory; and by continuing to Meletius the episcopal title, but withholding from him perpetually the exercise of his office.¹

TREATMENT
BY THE
NICENE
COUNCIL.

A shrewder piece of ecclesiastical management cannot be found in the annals of general councils. Those who followed Meletius were dealt with gently, and the author of their troubles was humored with the possession of an empty title. This, however, was not satisfactory to a man of such imperious nature. He continued his revolt, but many of his followers forsook him and returned to the Church. Later he joined the Arian faction. Some of his communities still existed, but led a feeble life, a century and a half after their absorption into the Arian heresy.²

ABSORPTION
BY THE
ARIANS.

The Donatist schism arose from the same general cause as all the preceding separatistic movements, but involved more serious questions, assumed larger proportions, continued longer, and made a deeper encroachment upon the very life and

THE DONATIST
SCHISM.

¹ Kurtz, *Handb. d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i, pp 259, 260.

² The best account of the Meletian schism is found in three manuscripts discovered in the archives of the Cathedral of Verona and published by Maffei in *Osservazioni Letterarie*, Verona, 1738, and by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacre*, iii, 381, ff. These must be balanced by Epiphanius, *Haer.*, lxxiii, 1-4. Other accounts are Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos*, xi, lix; Socrates, i, 6, *et al.* See Walch, in his *Ketzerhistorie*, and Neander, iii, 252-255.

organization of the Church than any previous schism in the annals of Christianity. While it began with the discussion of a question of practical religious life, it soon entered the domain of ecclesiastical discipline, and thence extended to the larger sphere of the relation of the State to the Church. Long before it had reached its full development it was undergoing investigation by the Emperor Constantine himself as head of the Christian state. The Diocletian persecution, fruitful alike of martyrs and schisms, also gave birth to Donatism. The storm of imperial hostility raged most violently in North Africa, and the spirit of readiness to suffer martyrdom became violent and abnormal. We observe not so much a calm and determined heroism, as with the Waldenses and Puritans of later times, but an excessive love of martyrdom—as if a hastening to death were at once the best way to please God, build up his kingdom, and expunge the sins of a lifetime.

The vagary of the crisis was the boast of loss of goods, the courting of imprisonment, the rejoicing in physical pain, and the coveting of martyrdom. The bishops were too wise to look upon this new phenomenon with favor. They saw in it an element of danger, and that the bridge was narrow between the search for martyrdom and the reverence for the bones of those who had hastened, with loud psalms and ready feet, to their death. It was clear that an open issue must soon come between these two elements, the fanatical love of death and the view that martyrdom was a dire necessity. The rupture was brought about by a woman. Lucilla, of Carthage, a distinguished and wealthy lady of Carthage, carried her reverence for martyrdom so far that one day in the church, just before the administration of the Lord's Supper, she publicly kissed the bones of a martyr.¹

This one act was the beginning of the great Donatist controversy, which shook the whole Church from the mountains of Lebanon to the Pillars of Hercules. The bishops were not used to it. In fact, so far as we can learn, it was the first overt act of veneration or worship for the remains of saints in the history of the Church.

Now, the kissing of the bones of all the saints in the Roman Catholic calendar, by every woman present in the public service of all the cathedrals of Christendom, would provoke only words of approval from pope, bishop, and priest. But the archdeacon Cæcilian severely rebuked the too reverent lady before the entire congregation. Not only was her

FIRST ACT OF
VENERATION
OF THE SAINTS.

¹ Augustine says she was a Spaniard by birth. *De Unit. Eccles.*, 3.

² Wiseman, *Essays*, ii, 210, finds a parallel between Lucilla and Anne Boleyn—an unhappy comparison.

pride touched, but the entire party regarded the rebuke as a mortal affront.

The sanctity of martyrdom was regarded as invaded. Mensurius, the bishop of Cæcilian, was of the same general view with his arch-deacon, and was already obnoxious to the fanatics for "taking no pleasure in martyrs, and preventing Christians from showing them due honor," and even for prohibiting food from captive Christians. The passions of both parties were greatly excited. Mensurius died in the midst of the storm, and now, to prevent Cæcilian from becoming his successor, the extremists secured the appointment, by Secundus, the Numidian bishop of Tigisis, of a provisional supervisor (visitator, interventor) of the vacant see of Carthage.¹ They wanted time to mature their plans and capture Carthage by a bishop after their own heart. But their adversaries were too quick in their action. They immediately elected Cæcilian, and secured his consecration to the episcopal office by Felix, Bishop of Aptunga.

THE WARFARE
OF PASSIONS.

The Numidian bishops, to the number of seventy, hastened to Carthage and protested against the election. The central figure among them was Donatus, Bishop of Casa Nigræ. The ground of their opposition was that Felix had no right to consecrate, because he had been a traitor, having surrendered the Scriptures in the midst of persecution.² Hence Cæcilian was, according to their view, not a bishop. Cæcilian, however, was shrewd enough to present himself for ordination. But this did not satisfy the extremists and their principal abettor, the Numidian bishop. They not only refused to consecrate him, but elected as rival bishop the lector Majorinus, a man whom Lucilla had recommended for the office.

LUCILLA'S
CANDIDATE,
MAJORINUS,
ELECTED
BISHOP.

The schism was now complete. The entire Church of North Africa was involved in it. All the distant communities were arrayed on the one side or the other, and violent language was employed by both the laity and the clergy.

THE SCHISM
COMPLETE.

¹ Ebrard, *Kirchen-und-dogmengeschichte*, vol. i, pp. 323, 324.

² The question of the guilt of Felix, which is the real question of this controversy, was reviewed by official investigators, with the result of declaring him innocent. See Optatus of Mileve, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, Ed. Dupin, 254, ff.; Walch, iv, 41-52. Voelter, the author of the most thorough investigation of Donatism, *Der Ursprung des Donatismus nach den Quellen untersucht und dargestellt*, Tübingen, 1883, thinks that Felix was guilty of the charges brought against him. Hopkins, of Auburn Theological Seminary, submitted the evidence to Judge Dwight, of the New York Supreme Court, in order to get the verdict of an unbiased mind. Judge Dwight strongly insisted on Felix's innocence. See Hopkins, in *Presbyterian Review*, 1884, p. 728.

The party of the extreme view had made it one point of their opposition that the Church was a purely spiritual institution, and had no relation with the State. This was the most reasonable element in their whole catalogue of grievances. But even this they surrendered by appealing to the Emperor Constantine to step in and cause an adjustment of the trouble, or, rather, to declare a justification of their claims.¹

The emperor had watched the controversy with that peculiar interest which he exhibited in all the ecclesiastical affairs of his empire, and resolved on the suppression of the schism. **THE APPEAL TO CONSTANTINE.** He had expressly excluded the Donatists from all his edicts of toleration. But, when it came to a matter of such gravity as to decide between strong parties, he must proceed in a truly imperial manner, and call in the Church as a factor in the settlement. In 313 he summoned to a meeting in Rome a commission consisting of five Gallican and fifteen Italian bishops, under the presidency of Melchiades, Bishop of Rome. The commission decided against Donatus and his party. But they, as a matter of course, were not satisfied with the result, and Constantine caused a legal investigation to be made in Carthage as to the authority of the documents of the pagan city prætor Alfius, which proved that Felix had been a traitor. The writing was pronounced a forgery, and thus the particular charge of the invalidity of Cæcilian's consecration fell to the ground.

Constantine now called a council to meet in Arles, in 314, where the Donatists were again condemned. The following year Majorinus died, and the Donatists elected as his successor Donatus the Great, not Donatus of Casæ Nigræ. **THE DONATISTS CONDEMNED BY THE COUNCIL OF ARLES, 314.** They now made another appeal to Constantine. He was unwilling to hear anything further from them, but relented, and held an investigation in Milan, in 316. The result was a final condemnation of the Donatists as a disturbing and dangerous schism in the Church.

The Donatists were now outside the pale of the Church, by both ecclesiastical and civil order. But their spirit was not broken. Their chief bishop was a man of great eloquence, of daring spirit, and capable of deep and far-reaching plans. Throughout North Africa there was a body of vagrant monks, who made it their special mission to excite the people to adopt the severe view in dealing with heretics, to pull down churches, to liberate slaves, to declare in favor of community of goods, **FANATICISM OF THE DONATISTS.**

¹ The most plausible theory is that Donatus himself appealed to Constantine. Eusebius, H. E., x, 5. Comp. Jacobi, *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte*, p. 236.



to kill those who might resist, and to rush headlong into the joy and crown of martyrdom.¹ Their fanaticism was as much political as religious. They combined the communism of modern France with the Münster fanaticism of German Protestantism in the time of Luther. They were called Circumcellions because they stood about the huts (*cellæ*) of the peasants and demanded bread. They appropriated to themselves the high-sounding epithets of Soldiers of Christ and Agonizers (*Milites Christi, Agonistici*). Some of the Donatists made common cause with the Circumcellions, protected them in their deeds of violence against all who were not Donatists, and, before the world, were regarded as identical with them. But even bitter Donatists soon saw the danger of being responsible for such a wild fanaticism, and repudiated them. Some Donatist bishops even invoked the imperial aid for their suppression. Tancolus, a general of the army, began in 345 a war against them, by which their power was finally broken.

Under the repressive measures of Constantine the Donatists gained in secret, and by gradual expansion, what they lost from political proscription and financial embarrassment. They had the advantage of pleading persecution and martyrdom. The emperor, seeing at last that his policy was a mistaken one, in the year 317 admonished his subjects to cease persecuting them, and in 321 issued a special edict, granting them full religious and civil liberty. They now enjoyed a truce of twenty years, during which time they acquired great strength, built churches, conducted proselyting operations, and organized a vast ecclesiastical system which covered a large part of North Africa. They were even represented by a bishop of their own in the grave deliberations of the Nicene council. Even after the ground of their existence was removed by the death of Caril-

CONSTANTINE
ORDERING HIS
SUBJECTS TO
CEASE PERSE-
CUTING THE
DONATISTS.

¹ The following, from Augustine, is only one of the many authentic accounts from the time of the violent operation of the Circumcellions: "Quotidie vestrorum incredibilia patimur facta Clericorum et Circumcellionum. multa peiora quam quorumlibet latronum et prædonum. Namque horrendis armati cujusque generis telis, terribiliter vagando . . . nocturnis aggressionibus clericorum Catholicorum invasas domos nudas atque inanes derelinquunt ipsos etiam raptos et fustibus tunsos, ferroque concisos, semivivos abiciunt. Insuper . . . oculis eorum calcem aceto permixto infundentes exardescere amplius cunctis quam citius excruciare." De Her., c. 69. The Circumcellions were very much like the American vagrant ("tramp"), lazy and often vicious, and sometimes tinged with religious fanaticism. Our tramps, like the Circumcellions, will sack a town and hold a whole neighborhood in terror. Gibbon, ii, 579; ed. Smith, compared the Circumcellions to the Camisards, and Robertson, Ch. Hist., i, 125, 8vo, ed. Lond., thinks that they have a counterpart in the marauding Covenanters of the Highlands.



ian they continued their warfare, when his successor, Gratus, was elected, with all their original tact and energy. The Emperor Constantius was impatient of the schism, and was anxious to bring the Church into unity. With no friendly feeling toward the Donatists, he yet pursued the mild policy of treating with them and using money to bring back into fellowship with the general Church such members as were open to such a powerful argument. This was a most unwise measure. No sooner did the Donatists learn it, and see its operation, than their passions were aroused. Donatus the Great hurled defiance at the imperial power with the bold words, "What business has the emperor with the Church?" The charge of bribery was made, and the Circumcellions were summoned to arise from their obscurity, to begin anew their destructive operations. The Donatists, however, were conquered. It was a question of the whole power of the State against a semi-political band of outlaws. Donatus the Great was fortunate in being banished, for the most of the leaders were executed as political offenders.

DEFEAT OF THE
DONATISTS BY
POWER OF THE
STATE.

Just at this juncture Julian came to the throne. He was ready for any measure to divide Christians, and, under the plea of liberty, granted complete restoration of property and religious liberty to the Donatists, and called back their bishops from banishment. Donatus the Great had died in exile, but no sooner was his successor, Parmenianus, elected, than he was brought to Carthage under the protection of an imperial guard. But with Julian's reign all favor shown by the State to the Donatists ceased. Valentinian I, in 373, and Gratian in 375, issued decrees against them, and all privileges granted by Julian were revoked. But their power was still unbroken. They were accustomed to imperial proscription, and it was an element in which they found it almost as convenient to live and expand as though in the sunshine of political favor.

JULIAN RE-
VIVING THE
DONATIST
SCHISM.

The worst foe of the Donatists appeared from within. There were two parties in their own fold, the conservatives and the extremists. The leaders of the former were Rogatus, Bishop of Cartenna; the followers of Tychonius; and the Bishop Primian, of Carthage. The division went even as far as conflicting Donatist councils and rival bishops elected by them. Maximian, a deacon under Primian, stood at the head of the radical wing, and was excommunicated by Primian. But a synod which met in Carthage in 393 removed Primian and elected his deacon in his place. A counter-synod, however, reversed this order. In all these operations no mild measures were employed. It was a

ROGATUS AND
PRIMIAN.

battle of blows as well as words and ballots, and blood was often shed during the heat of controversy—an emphatic way, it must be confessed, of conducting operations for the glory of God and upholding the purity of his Church. But even internal division did not destroy the proud and defiant spirit of Donatism. No opposition, from within or without, seemed strong enough to arrest it. It was the stormy petrel of the early Church, and no tempest seemed wild enough to lessen its venture from the shore or the boldness of its flight.

Augustine now appeared upon the scene. Elected Bishop of Hippo in 395, he no sooner adjusted himself to his office than he saw the need of uniting the divisions of that part of the Church under his administration. In the year 400 he adopted measures to overcome the Donatists. His policy was one of forbearance and respect. He hoped to win by kindness, generally a safe policy for an ecclesiastical officer to begin with, but not always to continue. He convened one synod after another, in all of which he caused the adoption of conciliatory resolutions concerning the Donatists. They were invited back in kindly terms, the conditions of readmission being of such character that they could be easily accepted by any but the exacting Donatists. Should they return they should come without loss of dignity or office. Some accepted the overtures, but the effect of this was to enrage the general body. The excitement became intense, and even the Circumcellions, who were thought to be well-nigh extinct, were galvanized into new activity, and began their wild proceedings as in former times. Augustine now changed his course. He saw that he was dealing with men who could be conquered only by the arm of power.

AUGUSTINE
BISHOP OF
HIPPO.

The African Church had steadily refrained from invoking imperial aid, but even this forbearance must now cease. The synod of Carthage, which met in 405, appealed to the Emperor Honorius to suppress the schismatics. He came to its aid. The clergy were banished and the laity punished with heavy fines, but to those who might return the door was thrown wide open. Four years afterward he revoked this edict, and granted toleration to the Donatists. This he again revoked, in compliance with the request of a synod, and ordered a public discussion in Carthage between the regular clergy and their Donatist adversaries. This was the so-called *Collatio cum Donatistis* of the year 411. It was one of the most animated and important public disputations in the entire period of the early Church. It possessed no authoritative power

THE EMPEROR
HONORIUS
FIRST EN-
DEAVORING
TO SUPPRESS
AND THEN TO
REVIVE THE
SCHISMATICS.

as an ecclesiastical body, but, being presided over by a representative of the imperial power, this officer was empowered to decide as he might see proper. It was the State claiming the right to settle a religious dispute. The Collatio consisted of two hundred and eighty-six regular bishops and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops.

The proceedings lasted three days. The chief disputants were Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, in defense of the Church, and Primian and Petilian in the Donatist interest. The imperial commissioner, Martellinus, decided promptly

FINAL DECISION AGAINST THE DONATISTS.

against the Donatists. They then appealed to the emperor, who confirmed the decision of his representative. They had now been heard at the last court and for the last time. The Church and State were united against them. All previous edicts of suppression were renewed. Their spirit was broken for the first time in the battle of a century. They gradually declined in numbers and wealth. When the Vandals conquered Northern Africa the Donatists hoped to affiliate with them, and, profiting by the devastation, to rebuild their former fortune. But they did not know the temper of those wild men of the North, who made no fine distinctions between the Church and its schismatics, but whose blood was hot against Homoousian Christians of every name. The Donatists, therefore, suffered as severely from the Vandals as they did from the Roman emperors. But they maintained their organization, though they saw their fabric gradually falling to pieces, until as late as the seventh century, when they shared the fate of all the forms of the divided and stagnant Christianity of Northern Africa and were swept from the face of the earth by the fiery besom of the Saracens.

These schismatic movements, which arose from questions of discipline and administration, had now fulfilled their destiny. What was their service? or were they only of that class of dark evils which leave no permanent residuum of instruction and strength to the

THE SERVICE OF THE SCHISMATIC MOVEMENTS.

Church? Donatism, like the other secessions, had a large share of human motive in its very organization; but beneath all this it is not difficult to detect an element of good. Many of the schismatics were honest, learned, and pure men, and saw three dangers that threatened both the purity and administration of the Church—an impure membership in the general membership, a centralizing and absolute Church government, and the participation of civil authority in the administration of the Church. Against all these they spoke strong words, and kept aloof from no sacrifice in person or estate. The charge of cor-

rupt morals cannot be made against their representatives or any important part of the commonalty of members. When they claimed that a Christian who had renounced his faith and sacrificed to idols was no longer a Christian in any sense, and must again be baptized before reentering the Church, they only maintained a principle which has been advocated even in modern times without bringing upon its champions the charge of being schism.

The schismatics declared for the purity of the Church, and that the Church itself is a body of righteous people who have never forfeited their high royalty of discipleship, or, if they have, must go through all the stages toward restoration required of any unregenerate heart. The formal and public Church had but little place in their system. Theirs was the invisible Church, consisting only of God's believing children in this life and his triumphant saints in the life to come. With tradition they had little to do except to remonstrate against it. They were always jealous of excessive metropolitan and episcopal prerogatives. Bishops they had, and enough, but we nowhere find in these separatistic movements that emphasis placed upon their authority, apart from the strict law of their administration, which was beginning to express itself not only in Rome but even in the whole Eastern Church. What was understood to be the consensus of the body of believers concerning episcopal authority was of less force with them than what was just and in harmony with the needs of the hour. Augustine's reply to their isolation from the general body of believers, that their communities were schisms from the maternal Church of Jerusalem and the whole Eastern Church, had but little force with them, for they held that a fallen Church was no Church at all,¹ and therefore had no bishops.

THE SCHISMATIC VIEW OF THE CHURCH.

But it was in the field of State interference that the Donatists and other schismatics were strongest, more free from error, and of greatest service to the Church in all later periods. For the first time in Christian history there was a Christian ruler. Constantine, like all his pagan predecessors, claimed supreme prerogatives over all religious interests. He was the bishop outside of the bishops. The fundamental position of the later separatists, however frequently they departed from it in order to preserve their existence, was that the State had no more to do with the Church than with any foreign institution. The two realms were independent of each other. This was Augustine's position at the beginning, and he was

DONATIST PROTEST AGAINST STATE INTERFERENCE IN ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

¹ Reuter, Augustinische Studien, in Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte, v, p. 361.

only driven to an acknowledgment of State authority over the Church because of the Donatist opposition.¹ Had the whole Church, at this early day, protested against the imperial participation in matters purely spiritual and ecclesiastical, the whole life of the Church would have been different. There would have been no unholy bondage of the Church to the State which not even Protestantism has been able to destroy except in republican countries. The Donatists held that the State was the representative of a profane institution. This was too low a standard, far beneath that of Paul. But the position which many of the leaders of the general Church held, that the emperor had imperial rights over the Church not less than over civil affairs, was equally far in the other extreme.

The great body of believers were slow to accord any justice, or any element of right view, to these schismatic bodies on this or any

SCANTY JUSTICE TO THE SCHISMATICS BY THE GREAT BODY OF BELIEVERS.

question which entered into their separation. But it cannot be questioned that these very men—banished, disfranchised, stripped of home and property, and executed—did perform a service of permanent value to Christianity in all later periods. There was much chaff in their sowing, but in the broad blaze of the latest light it can be clearly seen there was also many a golden grain of truth.²

¹ Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, in *Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte*, iv, 540.

² The late Heman Lincoln, in an article on the Donatists in the *Baptist Review*, 1880, pp. 357-373, investigates the supposed similarities between the Donatists and Baptists. He concludes that these resemblances consist in their principle of a holy Church membership and in that of the independence of the Church from the State. In all other matters of the Baptist testimony they did not differ from the ruling Church of the time. In his review of Voelter's *Donatismus*, Newman agrees with this conclusion of Lincoln. See *Baptist Review*, 1894, pp. 530-533. Besides the authorities already mentioned, see Ribbeck, *Donatus and Augustinus*, 1858; Deutsch, *Drei Actenstücke z. Gesch. d. Donatismus*, Berl., 1875; Fuller, *Donatismus* (an elaborate treatment), in Smith and Wace; *Hartranft, Prolegomena* (35 pp.) to the *Anti-Donatist Writings of St. Augustine*, in the *Nicene and Postnicene Fathers*, Series i, vol. iv. The sources are Optatus and Augustine. The works of the Donatists are lost.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONTROVERSY ON THE TRINITY—MONARCHIANISM.

To him who sees in the theological disputes which have arisen in different periods of the Church only the play of passion and the strife for ecclesiastical promotion, the trinitarian discussion which now arose under the name of Monarchianism seems only a tangled thread of speculation. At first view, it appears to have arisen from insufficient causes, and to have been prosecuted for the most part with petty aims. But a closer inspection reveals a better and larger quality both of the question itself and of the participants in it. There was in the Church of this period a profound need for the thorough and comprehensive examination of all the sublime doctrines of Christianity. At the foundation of the whole system lies that of the Trinity. Even this doctrine did not come to the world as a final and formulated article of faith. Not only was it necessary that the Church cling to its belief in this truth against every hostile attack, but the truth itself was of such quality that those who loved it, and believed in it, and staked their present and future upon it, needed to analyze and weigh it in order to take into their own consciousness the full measure of its worth. It had been given but not appropriated.

THE NEED TO
EXAMINE ITS
DOCTRINES.

For this reason the doctrine of the Godhead, above all others, required a new examination. Every truth which the Old Testament had handed down in miniature, and which had received its full light in Christ, required an appropriation by the body of believers which constituted the visible Church. But in order to make the appropriation there was need of minute examination. This was the human process, man's dealing with God's truth. What has man ever done with unanimity? What truth was ever gained save as he has seen it in the flashing of the weapons of fearless warfare? The understanding which the early Church reached concerning all its doctrines, by which it was to enter upon its long historical pathway, was a supreme want at this time. Happily for the later Christian generations, some permanent conclusions were reached in this early period. While theology is a progressive science there are finalities all along

TRUTH PROVED
BY CONTRO-
VERSY.

its course. Only by its positive possessions can it go forth into new fields.

This principle of the need of the Church to examine and formulate its doctrines for itself, not for apologetic purposes, but for its own consciousness, finds its application now to the Trinity. The apostle John had presented the doctrine of the Logos, both as a truth and a life. Much of the discussion between the Neoplatonic school and the defenders of Christianity had turned upon the nature of the Logos. This one question constantly reappeared in the Gnostic warfare. When Gnosticism had spent its force, and the Church had adjusted itself to its broad and full view of the Logos, as given by John and now appropriated by the body of believers after their heroic battle for its possession, there came on a period of calm. During this interval a new examination arose, not again of the question of the Logos, but of the entire Trinity. This was the Monarchian movement, so called because of the supreme place which its champions assigned to the unity of God. After Monarchianism had done its work, and disappeared from its field of strife, there was a recurrence to the old question of the Logos, but under the new name of Arianism. We have, therefore, these three controversial stages, in all of which the crucial question was the divinity of Christ—the Gnostic, the Monarchian, and the Arian. The roots of the Monarchian lay in the battle with Gnosticism, while the Arian period received both its impulse and authority during the Monarchian discussion.

The Monarchians discussed the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Trinity only incidentally. Sabellius was the only one who gave it prominence, and it must be said for him that, contrary to the received teaching of his day, he gave equal place with Christ to the

THE MAIN
POINT OF THE
MONARCHIANS.

Holy Spirit as one of the divine triad. The main point of the Monarchians, however, was to determine the relation of the Father to Christ. Wherever they touched upon the Holy Spirit it was only to illustrate and give force to their peculiar view of the Logos. The prevailing view in the Church concerning Christ was based upon the monotheistic idea, somewhat shaped, on the one hand, by a dread of sympathizing with the pantheistic ideas that had floated in from the East, and, on the other, by the idolatrous faith that had prevailed everywhere in the West. Christ was held to be divine, and to have had a pre-human existence, but the peculiar and intense element of original deity was ascribed to the Father in a fuller sense than to the Son.

This was subordination, a term which became a party watchword.

and played an important part during the Monarchian controversy. Both the Eastern and Western Churches favored it, though in the Western a stronger emphasis was placed upon the unity and identity of natures in the Father and the Son. Until the time of Origen the mode of expressing the difference was such that there was a time when the Logos came to an independent existence.¹ The Monarchian took up this monotheistic view, and, instead of eliminating from it its unfortunate expression, applied it to Christ, and carried it to a dangerous extreme.

SUBORDINATION.

There were three groups of Monarchians. They all proceeded from a spirit of reaction against the subordination of Christ in the Godhead, a doctrine which was strongly intrenched in many parts of Christendom. They recognized no personal difference in the essence or being of God, or, to use their own language, *idia oiasas perypasē*. Hence there was no personal individuality of the Logos. His divinity was not distinguishable from that of the Father.²

The first group of Monarchians claimed for Christ a divine nature, but not a complete one. He was the Logos, but only such by virtue of the power given him by God. The Father would manifest himself, and through Christ he chose that manifestation. Christ was much the same as other men; his chief difference was his miraculous and divine generation. But he towered far above man or angel in that he was the personal organ through whom the divine energy was manifested to men for their salvation.

THE THREE MONARCHIAN GROUPS.

The Alogians were the first Monarchians. They arose in Asia Minor about the year 170. Epiphanius, with a keen stroke of wit, gave them their name, which carries with it both his own opinion of their theological folly and their real rejection of John's gospel and his doctrine of the Logos.³ They were violent enemies of the whole Montanistic system, especially its prophetic and eschatological departments. They repudiated John's Apocalypse and declared that his gospel was the work of the Gnostic Cerinthus. They constituted a school; there is no proof that they ever became a separate sect.⁴

THE ALOGI.

¹ Jacobi, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 189.

² Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche*, pp. 168, f.

³ *Alogos*—unreasonable. Epiph., *Har.*, li. 3.

⁴ The Alogi were the first to apply historical criticism to the gospels. Their criticism, however, was based purely on internal considerations. They alleged no tradition in favor of Cerinthus's authorship. This is acknowledged by Zeller. See Godet, *Com. on Gospel of John*, 3d ed., vol. i. p. 171. It does not appear that they denied the divine origin of Christ. Their views were a reac-

The Theodotians, who took their name from Theodotus, a tanner, arose in Byzantium. He was excommunicated by Victor, Bishop of Rome. After his death his adherents became a sect and elected Natalis as their bishop. He afterward withdrew from them and returned to the Church. A second Theodotus, a money-changer, now stood at the head of the party. He held that Melchisedek was superior to Christ, as the latter was only mediator between God and man, while the former was mediator between God and angels. For this reason his adherents received the name of Melchisedekians.¹

In the beginning of the third century Artemon, or Artemas, of Rome, founded the Monarchian party, which bore his name, the Artemonites. They had no relation with either the Alogians or Theodotians, except a general similarity of doctrine.

They had mathematical and didactical tastes. Aristotle and the Greek mathematicians were their favorite teachers, whose works they lauded with boundless admiration. Artemon was excommunicated by the Roman bishop, Zephyrinus. But as this summary proceeding probably came from the sympathy of that bishop with the Patripassians, and not in the interest of the Church, the Artemonites could reply, with justice and force, that not they, but Zephyrinus himself, was a traitor to the traditional doctrine.²

For the space of forty years it seemed that the Artemonites had been extinct. But Paul of Samosata, who became Bishop of Antioch in the year 260, revived their views, and advocated them with remarkable force. In addition to his office of bishop he also held the civil office of procurator, and conducted each to the strengthening of the other. He was a vain, bold, and violent man. He carried the Artemonite view to its natural extreme, and held that what Christ was, as Son of God, was not so much an affair of his own nature but simply a communication from God, toward whom he advanced and developed.³ The Logos was, originally, a mere man, and became the Logos by ascension into the

tion from Gnosticism and Montanism. See Kurtz, 9th ed. of C. H., § 33, 2. As Cerinthus was a contemporary of the apostles it is evident that the Alogi knew nothing of a recent origin of John's gospel. If they had they would have used that knowledge with telling effect. See Schaaff, in Smith and Wace, i, 87, note. On the Alogi, see Fisher in Papers of the American Soc. of Church History, II, 1; Dollinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, 272, ff.; Zahn, in Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie, 1875, pp. 72, ff.; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt.

¹ Hip., Phil. vii, 35, 36; x, 23; Eusebius, v, 28; Epiph., liv, lv.

² Eusebius, v, 28; vii, 30; Epiph., Hier., lxx, 1-4.

³ Ὑστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐπανθρώπῃσιν ἐκπροκοπὴς τεθεοποιήσθαι αὐτόν. Athanas. de Synodis, c. 4.

divine. The divine did not inhere in him primarily, but he grew up into the divine. The Logos was in this sense the Son of God. He had a superior power, or capacity for divine development, vouchsafed to no other being, and by virtue of this mysterious power he evolved into the divine name and character. Two Syrian synods were held at Antioch with the purpose of condemning Paul and his teaching. But they were without success, owing to his skill in debate, and especially his tact in showing that his views were another form of statement of accepted doctrine.

The third synod, however, which met in Antioch in 269, was so conducted, through the masterly management of the presbyter, Malcheon, that it exposed Paul's sophistries and adopted a synodal circular which gave a formal statement of its grounds of opposition. It failed, however, of its prime end—the dispossession of Paul. He was a friend of the powerful and brilliant queen, Zenobia, whose support he had purchased by his favor of the Jews, and through her influence he was saved from loss of his temporalities. When Zenobia lost her crown through the victory of the Emperor Aurelian, in the year 272, Paul was without a friend in power. He was banished by the emperor at the earnest remonstrance of the Syrian bishops, supported by those of Rome and other parts of Italy. His followers declined in power and numbers, and were only known as late as the fourth century as an obscure sect, bearing a variety of names, such as the Paulians, the Paulianists, and the Samosatians.¹

The second class of Monarchians repudiated all sympathy with the subordination of Christ to the Father, and went to the extreme of holding that all we know of the Father is what Christ has revealed. Christ is not only God, but all there is of God. The three persons of the Godhead are one and the same person and substance, and their difference lies solely in the form of existence and manifestation. The Patripassians were the foremost representatives of this new view. They derived their name from the just charge that if all there is of God is what is revealed in Christ then the Father, and not the Son, must have suffered for our salvation.² Praxeas was the chief representative of the Patripassian view. He came to Rome near the end of the second century, either during the episcopate of Eleutherus (170-185) or of Victor (185-197). His avowed object was to secure the condemnation of the Montanists, and he not only secured from the Bishop Victor the condemnation of the Montanists, but succeeded in gaining him

PAUL BE-
FRIENDED BY
ZENOBIA.

DECLINE OF
THE FIRST
CLASS OF MO-
NARCHIANS.

PATRIPAS-
SIANS.

¹ Eusebius, H. E., vii, 27-30; Jerome, De Viris III., 71; Epiph., Hær., lxx.

² Itaque post tempus Pater natus et Pater passus.

to the Patripassian view.¹ Tertullian combated him in such successful way that his contradictions and absurd positions became patent to his most devoted adherents. He charged the general Church with a belief in tritheism, and based his allegation on three biblical passages, "as if," says Tertullian, with stinging satire, "the whole Bible contained nothing but these three passages."

Noetus, of Smyrna, adopted the same Patripassian view as Praxeas. He seems to have taught only a short time, and was then excommunicated. But he had a willing and capable disciple in Epigonus, who went to Rome about 215, and propagated the Patripassian view with such success as to gain Cleomenes, a presbyter of the Roman Church. Cleomenes, in turn, became a zealous advocate, and succeeded in winning Callistus. This man was in high favor with the Bishop Zephyrinus, who now became an adherent of the Patripassian school, and favored its adoption among his clergy. Rome was now the center of this school of Monarchians, and they gained favor on every hand.²

Callistus, or Calixtus I. succeeded Zephyrinus as Bishop of Rome in the year 218, and became the founder of a school of Monarchians who bore the name of Callistians. According to the *Philosophumena*, which, until within half a century, has always passed as the work of Origen, but, according to a manuscript brought from Mount Athos in 1842, is clearly the production of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, this Callistus had been a slave, then a money-changer, and later an adventurer in various fields. It was after this checkered life that he returned to Rome, became the favorite of Zephyrinus, and so adroitly laid his plans that he gravitated without trouble into the vacant episcopate on the death of Zephyrinus. But he was ambitious of theological distinction as well as of ecclesiastical authority. In addition to his warm advocacy of the Patripassian doctrine he also favored the lax views of ecclesiastical discipline which had been for some time an important feature in the practical polity of Rome. He used his office to advocate both departments of his activity. The Noetians, through him, controlled the sentiment of the Christians of that great metropolis of the West. Their powerful opponent, who taught subordination in the Godhead, was Hippolytus.

¹ There would be nothing noteworthy in the early bishops of Rome becoming confused in their notions of these profound metaphysical questions were it not for the factitious importance which these lapses have received from the false doctrine of infallibility proclaimed by the Vatican council in 1870. See Barmby, art. "Zephyrinus," in Smith and Wace.

² Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies*, ix.

When Callistus died the party which bore his name came to a speedy dissolution. He was the last of the popes who favored either the Noetian or any other Monarchian school.

At this distance it is difficult to tell exactly how far Callistus departed from the true view of the divinity of Christ, especially as we have the testimony only of his bitter personal and theological opponent, Hippolytus. It seems very likely, however, that the Roman bishop failed seriously to apprehend the true significance of Christ's person, even allowing, as we must, with Dollinger, a large element of exaggeration and spite in the charges of Hippolytus. In any event, the picture of an eminent bishop of the Church inveighing against the orthodoxy of a second century pope is not an edifying one for the modern Vaticanist.¹

UNCERTAINTY
OF THE TRUE
VIEW OF THE
DIVINITY OF
CHRIST BY
CALLISTUS.

The third Monarchian group was a mediatory school. It sought to accommodate between those who held that the Logos was, on the one hand, simply an organ for the manifestation of the power of God, and, on the other, that he was the form in which God had revealed himself. Beryll was the foremost representative of this tendency. He was not prompted by any love of theological peace or a disposition to surrender an opinion. His views were drawn from both schools, and were devoid of unity and completeness. Indeed, for his opinions we are indebted entirely to a single sentence of Eusebius.² Beryll was of Bostra, in Arabia. He agreed with the Patripassians in holding that Christ was the person in whom the Father was revealed, but held with the second Monarchian school that Christ did not have, before his incarnation, an independent existence and divinity.³ In the year 244 a synod was summoned in Arabia with a view to suppress Beryll's opinions. Origen was invited to attend, and he succeeded in convincing Beryll of the error of his view by showing him the great importance of the human soul in Christ as a necessity for his work of redemption. He thus led Beryll back into complete harmony with the accepted doctrine of the Logos, and received from him a written expression of his gratitude for his wise instruction.

THE MEDIA-
TORY SCHOOL.

We now come to Sabellius, the most powerful mind who sym-

¹ On this controversy see Dollinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, Edinb., 1876; Wordsworth, Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, Lond., rev. ed., 1880; Schaff, ii, 578, 579; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt; Erbes, in Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie, 1888, 611, ff. Kurtz, last ed., § 33, 5; and Moeller, Kirchengeschichte (1891), third division, § 6, 3, allow a Monarchian tendency in Callistus and Zephyrinus.

² Hist. Eccles., vi, 33. κατ' ἰδίαν νόσιν πατριπασιαν.

³ For an interesting discussion of Beryll's views see Neander, Church History, vol. i, p. 593, note.

pathized with the Monarchian views. He, as Beryll, entertained views which were shared by both wings of the Monarchian tendency. But he had no thought of compromise. His was the most complete and best sustained of all the Monarchian theories, and he was himself the most talented and meritorious of all its adherents. He was born in either Libya or Italy, and went to Rome, no doubt for purposes of observation and study, during the episcopate of Zephyrinus. He soon became interested in Monarchian discussions which agitated the Church. Callistus, before his election to the episcopacy, won him to the adoption of his views, but when he became bishop he secured his excommunication.

There is no good ground for supposing that Sabellius had changed his opinions, or that he was another Sabellius who was excommunicated. Callistus had simply become bishop, a transition which sufficiently accounts for his changed course toward Sabellius. For thirty years he seems to have disappeared, and then we find him at Ptolemais, in the Egyptian Pentapolis, as a strong and earnest presbyter of the Church, and surrounded by a powerful body of adherents. Dionysius, of Alexandria, saw the danger of his opinions and urged the African bishops to proceed against him. He and his followers were excommunicated at a synod held in Alexandria, in the year 261, but only after laudable but fruitless efforts on the part of Dionysius to convince him of his error and lead him back into harmony with the views held by the Church in general. How far Dionysius

SABELLIUS
CONDEMNED IN
ALEXANDRIA
IN 261.

himself was astray may be seen in his extreme expressions in favor of the subordination of the Logos, as opposed to the Monarchian view, for he illustrated the relation of the Father to the Son by saying it was as the gardener to the vine and the master to his vessel. Complaints were made to Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, against these radical statements of his colleague, Dionysius, of Alexandria, against the equality of the Father and the Son. The result was that the Roman bishop held a synod in the year 262, which condemned the opinions of the Alexandrian bishop, and issued a letter condemnatory alike of the opinions of him and his opponent, Sabellius. The result was, that Dionysius, of Alexandria, reconsidered his expressions, and in a special treatise¹ announced his adoption of the views entertained by the Church in general and by his associates in episcopal authority.

The views of Sabellius constituted the strongest of all the Monarchian statements. He was a man of pure character and strongly analytical mind. He saw the evil of the theory of Christ's subordination, and his whole endeavor was to overthrow it, however

¹ Ἀπολογία καὶ ἔλεγχος.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE SCRIPTURES AND TRADITION.

THE search of the Church for its final scriptural canon is one of the most interesting studies in the whole field of patristic history. Here, as with other triumphs of Christianity, the victory was not achieved by a single blow or by a few years of heroic endeavor. There was no general understanding, at the origin of the Church, as to what books should form that sacred collection which was destined to be the permanent rule of faith and final appeal, which should embalm the most precious memories in all the Christian ages, and should gather about its sacred pages that rich and ever-enlarging literature which we see to-day in all the languages of Christendom. The general Church arrived at its canon by a slow and often uncertain process. It learned the necessity of a complete and recognized body of scriptural truth from its foes. In the great conflict between the apologists and their pagan, Ebionitic, and Gnostic adversaries, it was found necessary that the advocates of Christianity should make the Scriptures their great arsenal for argument.

SLOW PROCESS
IN DETERMIN-
ING THE SCRIPTURAL CANON.

There was no part of the Old Testament, and particularly of the prophets, which they did not use with all that skill which we might expect of disputants trained in the world's greatest rhetorical schools. They charged their opponents with ignorance of the Scriptures, and hurled back with defiance their unfitness to argue the question of the divine origin of Christianity without an intimate acquaintance with its most ancient records. On the other hand, the use of the Scriptures by the apologists led the Church to see, as never before, the supreme need of a common agreement as to what books constituted the Scriptures, and of an early collection of them into a final and established unity. The pagan writers made a strong case when they taunted their Christian opponents with a diversity of opinion as to what books they called their canon, for this diversity did exist, even to an embarrassing degree. The charge was of inestimable value, and the Church was not slow to improve it.

SKILLFUL USE
OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT BY
THE APOLOGISTS.

With the Old Testament there was less difficulty in reaching an agreement than with the New. The example of Christ and his

apostles, and their constant use of it, were a sufficient indorsement of its inspired character and its proper place of dignity as the sole record of revealed truth. Concerning most of the books of the Old Testament there was never any doubt as to their divine authority. The law and the prophets constituted a body of revelation which the Christians clung to with intense tenacity of purpose and love of heart. But, for a close analysis of the sacred books which should consti-

THE JEWS OF PALESTINE. tute the Old Testament, the Christians were dependent on the Jews. There were at this period two classes of

Jews. One body occupied Palestine, and still clustered with abiding love about the places made memorable by the many scenes in their long tragedy of sorrow and joy. These were the first and best authority for appeal concerning every book of the Old Testament; and it is a fact, concerning which there has been no dispute, that the Jews of Palestine regarded as of divine authority precisely the books which the Protestant Church combines in its Old Testament. The other body of Jews were the Egyptian. They were in the excitement of a powerful and exciting literary revival. With no less a love for the traditions of their fathers than was possessed

THE EGYPTIAN JEWS. by their less animated brethren in Palestine, they nevertheless possessed other books which gave some thrilling episodes in the national history, supplied links that seemed important, and especially furnished matter concerning the heroic effort of the Maccabean patriots to restore their country to its former glory. These books appeared in the Greek language and, with the Septuagint, were circulated throughout Eastern Christendom and even found their way into the Western Church.

The Christians were not skilled in fine distinctions. The Septuagint was the only version of the Old Testament known to the great body of them, and these later books bore the same general characteristics, possessed a similar style, and presented but slight antagonisms. Many Christians thought they saw in the prophets as much variety as between them and these new additions. They were unable as yet to recognize in the uninspired books that proceeded from the Alexandrian Jews a merely human production, inspired by a national love and a taste for literary achievement. Some of the teachers of the Church, whose very names were a tower of strength in every little Christian community

THE BOOKS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN JEWS. from Syria to Spain, appealed to these uninspired books as of equal authority with the books of the revered Moses, and David and the prophets. Barnabas referred to the four books of Ezra as inspired. Tertullian clothed the Book of Enoch with the same dignity, and taunted the Jews with reject-

ing it.¹ Hermas elevated to equal honor with the law and the prophets the book Eldam and Medai, two men who were alleged to have written a prophecy in the wilderness. Origen vigorously defended the narrative of Susanna against the attack of Julian Africanus by saying that Providence would certainly have taken care that no spurious books should come into use in his Church.² On the same ground Origen defended the books of Tobit and Judith, and said that the Jews had good reason for rejecting from their canon many things that were not complimentary to their national character and history.

Some of these books, never fully believed by the general body of even Egyptian Jews to be of equal weight with their long-recognized writers of inspired truth, furnished helpful arguments to the Christians. It is no wonder that some of the Christians should see in the Book of Wisdom some useful hints to support them in their conception of the Logos, or, as they wept over the Maccabees, that they should find some encouragement in their own tempest of persecution. Some of these books, it is easy to suppose, found their way into the Christian communities with those which had never been disputed, and were read with them for the edification of the congregation. The uncertainty as to the few books which circulated among the Christians as possibly inspired led Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about the year 170, to go to Palestine and learn by contact with the Jews what books they regarded as constituting their canon.³ His service was great, but not immediate. The process of examination and analysis went on steadily. Some spurious book that the writer would defend was exposed by another of equal weight, and in due time went down into oblivion. The Christians were infinitely more interested in reaching a safe conclusion as to the Old Testament canon than were their pagan adversaries. They no sooner reached a conclusion as to the spurious character of a book which had been held to be inspired, and forming a part of the Old Testament canon, than they cheerfully bade it farewell. They were intent on the truth, and only the truth. Their pathway was long, but they adhered strictly to it.

It was only in the fourth century that they reached an agree-

¹ *De Habitu Muliebri*, c. 2.

² *Epist. ad Jul. African.* Comp. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, Lond. and N. Y., 1889, ii, 312, 313; Westcott, *The Bible in the Church*, pp. 134-136.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 26, where Melito's list is given. It omits Esther, also omitted by Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen. On Melito, see Harnack, *Texte und Unters.* I, i, 240-278.

MELITO'S JOURNEY TO PALESTINE TO AID IN DETERMINING THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON.

STEADY ADVANCE TOWARD CONCLUSION ON OLD TESTAMENT.

ment. Origen, with all his mistakes as to certain spurious books, performed the one great service of saying that there were spurious books, and that the Church needed to get rid of them. He accordingly made prominent a difference between the true and the false, and earnestly pleaded for the elimination of the superfluous books. The noblest word was spoken by Julius Africanus in his controversy with Origen on the Book of Susanna when he said: "May such a principle never prevail in the Church of Christ, that falsehood is framed for his praise and glory." To the Greek fathers of the fourth century belongs the honor of having sifted out the false books and presenting the Church the complete Old Testament canon. It had been well if Melito's advice had been sooner followed. But his collection served as a safe light for all subsequent endeavor.

The difficulties in reaching a conclusion as to the New Testament canon were still greater. But the process was very similar to that of the Old Testament. There was no unity of opinion at the beginning. The great body of books, such as the gospels, the Acts, and nearly all of Paul's epistles, had never been questioned. About the middle of the second century we discover efforts, particularly in Asia Minor, toward completing a collection of the canonical writings. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian furnish evidence of this early date when the mind of the Church was turned toward this great need. Some books had found their way into favor with Christians, and were used in worship, which had no claim to such honor. Some of them were probably as edifying as many of the homilies of that, or even the present, time, so that it is not likely that any intellectual or spiritual loss came to the auditor through the public reading of the Epistle of Barnabas, the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Shepherd of Hermas, or the Gospel to the Hebrews, or the Apocalypse of Peter. These innocent uncertainties had only a short day, and then passed forever out of sight.

The first division of the New Testament books was into The Gospel and The Apostle,¹ the former containing the four gospels, and the latter the Acts, thirteen Pauline epistles, the First of John, and the First Epistle of Peter. This is, with the exception of the last named epistle, the list of the Muratori Fragment,² which proceeded probably from the

¹ Το Ευαγγέλιον and Ὁ Ἀπόστολος.

² This ancient MS., which is of inestimable value in reflecting light on the settlement of the early canon, was discovered by Muratori at the beginning of the

Roman Church. The Fragment, however, includes also Second John, Jude, and the Revelation of John, but omits Hebrews, James, First and Second Peter, and Third John. These books were accepted as of divine authority and forming the canon as early as the year 170. But not all Christian communities were agreed as to the remaining books. The Second and Third Epistles of John and the Apocalypse were in general, but not universal, use, for the Peshito is the only collection which omits them, and that omits also Second Peter and Jude. The Epistle of Jude was accepted by the great body of the Church, while the Epistle of James was admitted by only the Syrian Church. The Epistle to the Hebrews was rejected by the Western Church, but admitted by the entire Greek and Syrian Churches. The Second Epistle of Peter was longer in dispute than any other book in our present canon. Both Origen and Eusebius expressly place it among the disputed books. But other teachers in the Church were equally warm advocates for its reception, although Irenæus, Tertullian, and Chrysostom never quote it or mention it. In the Muratori Fragment there is a doubtful list of canonical books, which mentions the Apocalypse of Peter and the Shepherd of Hermas, but rejects as not authentic the Epistles to the Laodiceans and the Alexandrians.

This period of uncertainty as to some of the books properly forming the New Testament canon continued to the end of the fourth century. The synod of Hippo, in North Africa, which met in the year 393, under the leadership of Augustine, is the first which took definite action on the New Testament canon. Its list of the inspired books was the final one, namely, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament as we now have them. The Council of Carthage, in 397, adopted the same resolution. The only difference in their action was that the Council of Hippo mentioned Paul as the author of thirteen epistles, and left his authorship of the fourteenth, the Epistle to the Hebrews, an open question, while the Council of Carthage makes no reservation, but recognizes Paul as the author of fourteen epistles,¹ although it makes its recognition in a suspicious manner, namely, "thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the epistle of the same to the Hebrews." From that time, though there were individual cases of rejection,

ACTION OF THE
SYNOD OF HIP-
PO, A. D. 393.

eighteenth century in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and published by him in his *Antiquitates Italice Medii ævi*. Tom. III, p. 854. See Westcott, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 6th ed., 1889, pp. 211-229, with the literature cited in the notes, and pp. 521-538 for text and critical remarks. For translation by Salmond, see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Chr. Literature ed., v, 603.

¹ Credner, *Geschichte d. Kanon.*, 3, 149, ff.

the New Testament canon may be said to have remained untouched. About 495 or 500 a decree of Pope Gelasius fixed the biblical books substantially in the order in which we have them to-day.¹

The terms by which the two parts of the Bible came to be distinguished—the Old and the New Testaments—have their origin in the Hebrew name for their sacred writings. The Jewish religion had not only the form, but the name, of a covenant² of God with his chosen people; for it consisted of pledges on the part of the people and promises on God's part. The Septuagint translates the word covenant by a much broader word,³ which not only means a treaty, a covenant, but also a testament, or will, although it has this latter meaning in only one place in the New Testament.⁴ In one sense it was a testament; it was God's will and legacy to his people forever. Paul used the word "covenant," by metonymy, in reference to the sacred writings of the old economy,⁵ because in them, as Grimm says, the "conditions and principles of the older covenant" were recorded.⁶ And the uniform translation of the New Testament term for covenant *testamentum*, on the part of the Latin Vulgate, was in all probability a strong force toward the final name which the Old Testament Scriptures received in the early Church. Then, by way of expressing the difference in both time and character, the words "New Testament" came to be used for the later collection of sacred books. Tertullian is the first writer who employed the term *testamentum*,⁷ and Lactantius defended its use on the ground that, as a will first becomes known and valid after the death of the testator, so through the death of Christ are all the mysteries of the Old Testament known and completely fulfilled.⁸ Tertullian also applied the words *vetus instrumentum* to the Old Testament, but in this he was less happy.⁹ The Church accepted the word testament, not because it meant all that was desired, but because it came nearest to expressing a father's good pleasure and final testament to his children.

¹ For the text of this decree, see Westcott, *On the Canon*, pp. 571–573, p. 453. Innocent I (405) is said to have promulgated our official list (for text, see Westcott, p. 570); but grave doubts are entertained as to the authenticity of his decretal. In 419 a new synod of Carthage reproduced its old list, and again sent it to the Roman bishop for his confirmation, which they would hardly have done if they had known of Innocent's letter. See Reuss, *Hist. of the Canon of Holy Scripture*, tr. Hunter, N. Y., 1884, p. 207.

² בְּרִית.

³ διαθήκη.

⁴ Heb. ix, 16.

⁵ 2 Cor. iii, 14.

⁶ Thayer's Grimm, *Lexicon of the New Testament*, s. v. διαθήκη.

⁷ Adv. Marc., iv, 1.

⁸ Instit., iv, 20.

⁹ Gieseler, *Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 90, ff.

With the final adjustment of the canon the idea of tradition is intimately related. In the apostolic period there was no mention of this term, in the unfortunate sense into which it grew in the later days, when terms were expanded into supports for false theories. There was, at first, a laudable and natural reverence for the example and words of the apostles. What could have been more innocent than the reverential respecting, by the immediate disciples of the apostles, of recitals of instruction and memories from those who had seen our Lord, and from whose hearts his image had never departed? In the midst of persecution, and far out upon the new and inhospitable fields of missionary labor, these memories were a constant source of joy to the toiling apostle whose own eyes had beheld our Lord in the flesh. Should he keep these precious recollections within his own breast?

CHAIN OF
EARLY TRADI-
TION.

He told them, but with no thought that out of these purely human words there should grow a supposed second revelation, or any approach to an additional rule of doctrine. We find a rich glow and delightful fragrance in the words of Irenæus to Florin, in which he repeats what he had heard, when very young, from the lips of the aged Polycarp, who had been taught by John, and who had told him much of what the beloved disciple had reported concerning the miracles, doctrines, and life of our Lord. Irenæus continues: "This I, Irenæus, too, heard at that time, with all eagerness, and wrote it down, not on paper, but in my heart, and by God's grace I constantly bring it up again to remembrance."¹

Here, as has too often happened, gross error has been allowed to develop from a thing in itself useful. Tradition as developed in the Church, and conveniently used in every emergency by the Roman bishops, implied three elements—apostolic origin, catholicity, and communication by the bishops. Origen gives large place to it when he says: "*Illā sola credenda est veritas, quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastico et apostolico tramite discordat.*"—"Since the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the apostles and remaining in the churches to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth, which differs in no respect from ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition." And in this Origen exactly defines the ancient idea of the rule of faith. Irenæus, not content with the great joy of drawing upon Polycarp's memory for what John had said concerning our Lord, goes further, and makes tradition very nearly a parallel treasure with the Scriptures themselves. He says the preach-

EXAGGERA-
TION OF TRADI-
TION.

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, v, 20.

² Motto to his book, *De Principiis*, Pref., 2.

ing or declaration of the Church' is contained in our faith, and has come through the Church as a treasure in a precious vessel growing ever young.¹ This divine treasure is committed to the Church, that all may become living who receive it.² Irenæus says distinctly, again and again that the rule of faith is the living testimony of the Church concerning God and Christ and the other doctrines, which teaching is everywhere the same, and can be tested and verified by reference to the apostolic sees. This teaching is one and the same with that contained in the Scriptures. The Scriptures are everywhere appealed to as a matter of course as the rule of doctrine; but since the heretics also had the Scriptures and appealed to them and mutilated them, the true doctrine must also be tested by recourse to the catholic bishops.³

The exact value of tradition in the mind of the early patristic Church admits of no doubt. The Church was no loose organization, a merely voluntary society, but a divinely authorized and established organization, which not only consisted of visible members, but was also the depository of the whole source of Christian doctrine. The lives of the apostles had but recently terminated. With them the last visible link between the Church and the incarnate Lord was broken. Nothing could have been more natural than that the Church should place great emphasis on the consensus of the Church concerning the unwritten will of the apostles, as preserved in the local societies, and as taking form in ecclesiastical bodies.

There is not a particle of evidence to show that the patristic Church attached more importance to oral tradition than to the scriptural canon. This doubt was never raised until the sixteenth century,⁴ or assumed form until the syncretistic controversy of the seventeenth century, or was made an argument against the orthodoxy of the early Church until the eighteenth century, when Semler and Lessing made abundant use of it for this purpose.⁵ It is a proof of the unhistorical quality of Lessing's mind that he undertakes to prove that the so-called *regula fidei* of the Christians is older than their canon, and that it held a higher place in their thought than the Bible itself—a charge already so trium-

NO EVIDENCE
OF EXTREME
VALUE PLACED
ON TRADITION
BY THE PATRIS-
TIC CHURCH.

¹ Prædicatio ecclesiæ.

² Depositum juvenescens et juvenare faciens ipsum vas, in quo est.

³ Contra Her., iii, 24, 1.

⁴ Ib., iii, i-v; i, x, 1, 2; iii, xi, 1.

⁵ Chemnitz, Examen Concilii Tridentini.

⁶ Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 245.

phantly refuted that he must be indeed a bold spirit who can dare to revive it.¹

The precise relation of Scripture and tradition at this period was one of friendly, but not equal, juxtaposition. The supposed doctrine of the apostles was at no time regarded as separate from, or independent of, the scriptural revelation. Clement had said that the ecclesiastical rule of faith was needful to understand the Bible,² but he did not say that without it the Church could not interpret the Bible so as to acquire its doctrine from it. This same Clement likewise declared, in almost the same breath, that only that is pure doctrine which can be proved by the Scriptures.³ The truth is, no tradition in the Church at this time had the confidence of the general body of believers which was not based upon the Scriptures. The rule of faith was the concrete judgment of the Church concerning the scriptural truth. The two were not antagonistic bodies of truth, but the ecclesiastical sense of the truth was simply the oral and general form of that written word which was always the court of final appeal. The Scriptures were the broad and unformulated truth; the ecclesiastical tradition was the same truth in compact form.⁴ Cyprian placed the whole authority of tradition upon the one living body of truth as contained in the Scriptures, when he said: that only is divine and sacred tradition which is contained in the Gospel, the epistles of the apostles, and the Acts; and as one must go back to the source of a canal when it ceases to flow, to find out the cause of the evil, so, when error slips into the doctrine of the Church, must the clergy go back to "our original and Lord, and to the evangelical and apostolical tradition," and by them find out their proper course.⁵

RELATION OF
SCRIPTURE
AND TRADI-
TION.

¹ The writers who have performed this excellent service are: Walch, *Kritische Untersuchungen von dem Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift unter den alten Christen*, 1779; and Sack, Lücke, and C. J. Nitzsch in a joint work addressed to Delbrück (the reviver of Lessing's attack), entitled *Das Ansehen der heiligen Schrift und ihr Verhältniss zur Glaubensregel in der protestantischen und in der alten Kirche*, Bonn, 1827. Comp. also Jacobi, *Die kirchliche Lehre von der Tradition und heiligen Schrift in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt*. Abth. i, Berl., 1847; and Holtzmann, *Kanon und Tradition*, Ludwigsburg, 1859.

² *Stromata*, vi.

³ *Ibid.*, vi, vii, 16.

⁴ Nitzsch happily says: "The rule of faith was the Holy Scriptures *in nuce*, while the Holy Scriptures were the rule of faith *in extenso*." *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, p. 245.

⁵ Ep. lxxiii (Oxf. ed., lxxiv), 2, 10, ad Pompeium. It is clear that Cyprian is here arguing against Stephen, of Rome, on the baptism of heretics. Stephen appeals, as usual, to the tradition of the Churches. "Out upon your tradition," cries Cyprian, "unless it is in conformity with Scripture. Unless they speak

Tradition, therefore, in this first period of the Church was simply that unwritten construction of doctrine which afterward assumed fixed form in the great symbols of the Church. It was the beginning of the formularization of doctrine, and was never regarded as a substitute for the inspired and written word of God. Its later perversion took place in the Western Church, the Eastern never finding a hierarchical motive strong enough to elevate it into equality with the written word. As Rome found reason to clothe its episcopacy with all possible functions tradition came in for its share of honor. What Tertullian had said, in the earlier and purer days, was easily forgotten, "Truth is older than all things;"¹ and Cyprian had strongly declared, "Custom without truth is the old age of error."² But these great teachers of the West were silenced amid the strife for building up Rome into a great ecclesiastical center, which, in due time, held its long mastery over the whole of Western Christendom.

according to this word there is no truth in them." Of course, Stephen would have acknowledged this. But the language of Cyprian is a testimony to the undisputed preeminence of Scripture in the early Church.

¹ Apol., xlvii.

² Ep., lxxiii, 9. *Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est.*

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEY OF THEOLOGY BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

THE Council of Nicæa, in the year 325, was the first occasion when an official attempt was made to construct a system of theology for the whole Christian Church. The Church, however, was not without its theology. It was not formulated, but lay in the general consciousness of the Christian mind and waited for that written and firmer form to which the Church might give its sanction in representative session. This Christian theology, which stood midway between the close of the apostolic period and the formulation of the Nicene symbol, was a thing of marvelous variety, for it reflected the temperament, the intellectual endowment, the great schools of theological culture, and that mixed nationality which distinguished the peoples who constituted the Christendom of the age. Its office was of supreme importance. It was the handmaid who should receive from the apostles their precious treasure of fervid but unformulated truth, and adapt it to the world, amid all the hostilities that sprang from the disruption of the old Jewish and pagan life, and hand it over to the Church whenever it had advanced far enough to crystallize its faith in the written symbol. On the use which this intermediate theology might make of the truth, when it came into its hands, depended the quality of the material out of which the Church was to construct its first theological system. The men who represented the Church at this critical time were not contented with answering adversaries, whether Ebionitic, Gnostic, or pagan, or with antagonizing and exposing schismatic measures, or with coming to a general understanding concerning the books which should constitute the scriptural canon.

Besides all these great purposes there was still another, not less significant and worthy than the rest. This further purpose was to arrive at a general understanding of the fundamental truths which constitute the great body of Christian doctrine, and to so define them that the believer might be able to give a reason for his hope. The same impulse which prompted the Church to eliminate spurious books, and arrive at a complete and permanent

THEOLOGY BETWEEN THE APOSTOLIC AND NICENE PERIOD.

PURPOSE TO REACH GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS.

canon of Scripture, also led it to the construction of a theology out of this very canon which should serve the purpose of a general rule of faith. This impulse was a necessity. The Church must know its grounds of faith in every age.

We must not expect to find perfect unity in this theology. The disturbed conditions, the infiltration of those endless diversities that came of origin and education, the want of an all-pervasive connectional system, and, above all, the total absence of precedents, made the task of arriving at a common theological basis extremely difficult. It should occasion no surprise, then, that the representative teachers should frequently collide in their statements of every one of the fundamental doctrines, and that speculation should too often take the place of argument. These men, though richly endowed by nature, were novices in the art of doctrinal discussion. They had but lately come out of pagan rhetorical schools, and though they left their old creed behind them they yet brought their methods with them into their field of battle for the new truth. Their daring amazes us. They entered boldly into the discussion of the sublime mysteries of union of the persons in the Godhead, and only seldom, as in the case of Irenæus with reference to the generation of Jesus, reached the conclusion that the mystery was too great a strain for the human understanding.

As we look upon the surface it would seem that there was almost no cardinal doctrine on which they agreed. Their statements of doctrine appear often so fragmentary and confused that it would be useless to expect any firm agreement. But such a conclusion is unjust. It were as safe to say that the fragments of glass scattered about on a nursery floor would never assume forms of harmony and beauty when combined by a careful hand into a kaleidoscope, or that the piles of colored blocks which lay in the studio of the artist could never have made that matchless mosaic portrait of the apostle John which looks down from the dome of St. Peter's, as to conclude from the conflict of speculation in the antenicene period that there was no general harmony of doctrine in the Church. Beneath all the diversity there was a sublime and beautiful unity. The average believer, who lived far away from the war of words, had as clear a conception of all the great truths of revelation, and was as much cheered and exalted by them, as the Protestant Christian in the nineteenth century.

The understanding of the truth is much the same in all ages. Faith is the appropriative faculty, and he who possesses it can com-

prehend the golden truth. Even in this early period the masters in theology knew where to place faith in the Christian system. We have from Augustine some choice declarations, showing that, in order to know the truth, there must be a large measure of willing faith in it.¹ He here struck the very keynote of that knowledge of doctrine which distinguished the whole patristic period, and rose far above the battle cry of the heated contestants. The Scriptures furnished the general knowledge. Out of these the Church constructed its theological rule of faith. The process of construction was long and subject to variations, but it was a progress toward the happy consummation in fixed symbols.

THE SCRIPTURES ACCEPTED AS THE BASIS OF ALL CORRECT THEOLOGY.

We find the harmony by a balancing of tendencies. We do not reach it in the theology of either the Greek or the Latin Church. The Greek theologians, now that Judaistic influences had gone into oblivion, represented the whole Eastern Church. They were inventive, productive, and speculative. They were given to formularizing their dogmatic conclusions. They combined dialectical skill with originality in producing materials. Origen was the representative, and he was surrounded by an ardent group of disciples. The Latin or Western Church, like the Roman mind in all fields, was less able to originate than to profit by the discoveries of others. Its theologians held firmly to the faith of the elders, and organized it into weapons for universal warfare. Its officers excelled in ecclesiastical tact and organization. The Greek would prove all things; the Roman would take them as already proven, and use them as instruments for universal empire. He heard reverently what his Greek brother had to say; after weighing it well rejected what was not useful to his ends, but appropriated and intensified what seemed most helpful.² Tertullian was the representative of this Western tendency. He did not carry to conclusions his premises. This was reserved for his theological successor, Augustine, whose career marks the breach between Greek and Latin theology, and who shaped the entire theology of the Western Church for many centuries, and has had his modern disciple in Calvin.

HARMONY TO BE FOUND IN BALANCING EASTERN AND WESTERN TENDENCIES.

Between these two Churches, the Greek and the Latin, we find

¹ *Rationalibiter dictum est per prophetam: nisi credidistis, non intelligitis. Credamus, ut id quod credimus intelligere valeamus.* Comp. Hopkins, *Grounds of Knowledge and Rules for Belief*, in *Princeton Review*, Jan., 1881, art. i.

² The best characterization of the Greek and Latin theologies is that of Allen, in *Continuity of Christian Thought*, new ed., Bost., 1893, chaps. i and ii.

the best field for comprehending and estimating the theology of this whole period. It was the common ground which separated the extreme teachers, and was held by Cyprian and Irenæus. Their views more nearly approached the general doctrinal basis of the Church than those of any other theologians. There was more of catholicity in their statements, and more of that type of permanent doctrine, than we find elsewhere.¹ But while this is the best ground for observation, our vision needs to extend over every part of the theological field. It was a broad territory, and we need to look as far as the horizon on every side.

We are now prepared to examine more minutely the doctrinal system entertained by the ante-Nicene Church. God was the eternal, incorporeal, invisible, unchangeable, all-wise, all-present, and all-loving Creator and Preserver of the universe. No attribute, indeed, which is recognized by the modern Church was denied him by the patristic Christians. Only when they came to consider the relation of the three persons in the Godhead, and God's revelation of himself to the world, do we observe variety and confusion of view. Tertullian varied from the general theology in holding that God must have a body. This he was compelled to do by the misfortune of his philosophy, which taught that corporeity was a necessity to all existence. Such a principle of explaining Deity would answer well enough for the moral platitudes of the pagan Cicero,² but was of less service for the Christian theologian in explaining the perfect nature of the God of revelation.³ The current theology had no sympathy with this relic of paganism, but, with Origen and the entire Alexandrian school as guides, held far aloof from all corporeal representations of Deity. There were two prevailing methods of proving the divine existence, one being our own consciousness, and the other the visible world. But the most prevalent method was to assume the existence of God without the need of argument. Arnobius held that to attempt to prove God's existence was not much better than to deny it.⁴ We must not venture upon such forbidden ground. It was too sacred; let us admit, and go on. Origen,⁵ Athanasius,⁶ and Clement of Alexandria⁷ agree in saying that the only possible knowledge we can have of God must be based on grace and the Logos.

The trinity and unity of the divine nature were doctrines which

¹ Niedner, *Lehrbuch d. chr. Kirchengeschichte*, p. 273; Nitzsch, *Grundriss d. chr. Dogmengeschichte*, p. 92.

² *De Natura Deorum*, 1, 18.

³ *De Carne Christi*, c. 11.

⁴ *Adv. Gent.*, i, c. 33.

⁵ *Cont. Celsum*, vii, c. 49.

⁶ *Ad Serapion*, Tom. i, p. 194, ed. Cohn., 1686.

⁷ *Strom.*, v.

employed much thought. The methods of proving them were generally unfortunate. It would have been wiser to take the Scriptures as the only ground of evidence, and leave out all speculations as to the necessity, from the nature of things, that the supreme God must be both one and triune, and that both attributes could be proved by the dialectics of Aristotle. Theology had not as yet learned to take some things for granted, and these two doctrines were of the number. The elder faiths from the far East were not without analogies, such as the Indra, Varuna, TRINITY AND UNITY OF THE DIVINENATURE. and Agni, of the Vedic trinity of India; and the post-Vedic Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; and the Zeruane, Ormuzd and Ahriman of Parseeism. Some of the teachers attempted to show that, as other faiths possessed their trinity, Christianity had also its higher, pure, and triune God. But there was in principle no attempt at parallel or comparison. The trinity of Christianity was the one and only complete unity in trinity of the three persons of the Godhead. The expression *trinitas* was first used by Theophilus of Antioch,¹ and Tertullian² was the first to introduce into theology the word trinity. By all the fathers the doctrine of the Trinity was accepted, but the relation of the three persons to each other, their equality or difference of essence, was the ground of much animated discussion and great variety of opinion. The unity of God was proved from the fact that it could never have grown, that the universe is in harmony with itself, that it reveals a unity of creation, and that the whole material world could not be referred to a higher principle than the one creative Omnipotence. This was the argument of Justin, who held that beneath all the diversity in the visible world there is a unity of operation, and that operation is the administration of the one God.³

The Christology of this period was the most fully developed department in the entire domain of doctrine. It was the one prism which reflected all the theological and philosophical colors of the age. Every important theory, however remote from this great theme, was treated with such deftness as to touch some side of it. The typical theologian of the time might wander with the very stars in speculative fancy, and descend into CHRISTOLOGY. depths which only his daring could reach, but he generally set out from some christological thought, and after all his wanderings came back to the same starting point.

The Logos of Alexandria became the Logos of the whole Chris-

¹ Ad. Autol., ii, 15.

² De Pudic., xxi.

³ Dial. cum Tryphon., c. 5. Justin says that the doctrine of the "one only God is the first article of all true religion."—Cohort. ad Græcos, xxxvi.

tian world. The point of departure with some to prove a revelation of Deity to man was purely philosophical. There lay in the divine mind, as an essential to its perfection, the necessity of manifestation. We can no more think of a sun without radiation than of God without manifestation. But the prevailing method of accounting for the manifestation of the Logos was on a far higher plane—the divine will, which in a manner included the argument from necessity. God is both all-wise and perfect in goodness. As light must proceed from the sun, and cannot be imprisoned, so divine wisdom must proceed from the divine source; and, as God is perfect, his will must be included, and his will to reveal himself for the salvation of men must occupy a large place in the plan of redemption.¹ It was the Father's good pleasure to reveal himself. His will transcended the necessity.² Further, his nature cannot be thought of as inactive and lost in the depths of self-contemplation, but as operating for the blessing of the world. Christ must be thought of in two characters—first, as the personal and preexistent Logos, and, second, as the incarnate Christ. In the former character he shared in the creative work and in the administration of the universe. In the second he was generated by the Holy Ghost, born of Mary, and led a human life. This life among men was not an appearance alone, now an obsolete Ebionitic view, but a really human life, yet sinless.

The eternal sonship of Christ was a theme of much controversy. Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, and the pseudo-Ignatius held that the Son existed from all eternity coequally with the Father, but that before the creation he proceeded from the Father and began to lead a separate personal existence. This view places Christ upon a somewhat lower plane than the Father, and yet the advocates, with the exception of Tertullian,³ would not admit the slightest compromise of his equality with the Father. Others, like Irenæus, taught his coeternal and separate personal existence and sonship with the Father.⁴ Tertullian's view of the Trinity was that all the members are of the same substance, but constitute a succession, each depending on the one above. Lactantius and the later Latin teachers entertained a view very nearly identical with this. Origen's notion of preexistence of the Logos was one eternal generation.⁵

In this variety of explaining the worship of Christ there is a

¹ Ritter, *Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie*, vol. i, pp. 491, f.

² Iren., i, 10, 1.

³ Lib., ii, 23, 8.

⁴ *Semper coexistens filius patri olim et ab initio semper revelat patrem.*

⁵ Com. in Joh., Tom. i, 32.

strong tendency toward subordination, which comes fully into the foreground in Origen. He based his view on Christ's own declaration: "The Father is greater than I." The Son does the work of the Father, and as the Father does, but the impulse comes from the Father. This inconsistency in Origen, who claimed both the divinity and subordination of Christ, was the occasion of animated discussion, and it is no wonder that both Athanasius and Arius could draw with equal relish from the Origenic well.

Every writer whom the Church recognized as a teacher, however, claimed the perfect divinity of Christ, notwithstanding the persistent efforts of modern Unitarians to show that the prevailing theory of the Church at this time was to deny his perfect divinity. Those who did deny it were regarded as a separate sect, just as they are in these latest days. There never has been a time when the general Church compromised the divine character of Christ. If there was a prevailing tendency, it was to lessen the humanity, thus sympathizing with the Patripassian extreme. Barnabas feared to say that Christ was Son of man, but boldly declared him the Son of God. Ignatius was slow to accept his perfect humanity, and dwelt much on him as "our God," and his coming as God's coming, and his death as the shedding of "God's blood." Irenæus declared that the incarnation of the Logos was the coming of the whole Deity.¹ The Logos did not become the Son through emanation, but the incarnation was only the outward evidence of an eternally existing sonship.² Origen held a similar view. He construed emanation as an involuntary procession, and declared that Christ did not emanate, because his coming was a definite act of the Father's will.³

PERFECT DIVINITY OF CHRIST CLAIMED BY ALL THE RECOGNIZED TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH.

The confounding of the two persons, Father and Son, was an occasional theological aberration, as with Clement of Rome and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, but was not a distinguishing vagary of the theology of the time. The subordination of Christ to the Father was a more serious matter. Christ's own declarations that he had come from the Father led some theologians to so explain the incarnation as to place the Logos on a lower plane than the Father. Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian spoke in this vein—that the Logos served the Father in creation, and that he came to the world according to the Father's will, to do his will. But there was no compromise, even with the extreme teachers who favored subordination, of the essential divinity

SUBORDINATION OF CHRIST TO THE FATHER.

¹ Deus . . . totus existens mens et totus existens Logos.

² Iren., ii, 25, 3; iv, 14, 1; iv, 20, 3.

³ Apol., ii.

of Christ. There was an order, they held, but yet a perfect divinity in the person occupying the second place. The very emphasis on the doctrine of subordination was produced by the dread of compromising the divine unity and thus making a concession to polytheistic adversaries.

After the middle of the second century we can perceive a general agreement on the character of the Logos, while all the representative teachers engaged in speculation on the methods and phenomena

GENERAL
AGREEMENT ON
THE LOGOS
AFTER THE MID-
DLE OF THE
SECOND CEN-
TURY.

of the general question. Christ was held by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen to be truly God and truly man. His divine nature never underwent diminution or compromise by becoming incarnate. The man Jesus suffered, but the Lord Christ did not. It was the latter which triumphed, and bore with it the priceless experience of the sorrow and pain of humanity, to carry out in the great future his will to save the world. Some teachers held that his body was human, though not the ordinary human body. It was believed to be one resembling our body, but elevated above it in some mysterious way, possibly by the reflection of the indwelling divinity.¹ The speculations on the human and divine soul in Christ were innocent enough, and turned upon purely theoretical questions. Tertullian was the first to mention a human soul in Christ. Origen afterward strove to make the matter clear by calling it a rational soul. Origen's view, however, prevailed—that the Logos united with a reasonable soul on account of its perfect purity, and by means of this united with a human body.²

The Christology of this period, after eliminating all the speculations, reduces itself to the following: Christ was eternally coexistent with the Father, and in all that the Father wrought he was not only present but cooperative. In the fullness of the time he assumed our humanity, through his love for man and his purpose to save him.

CONSENSUS ON
THE CHRISTOL-
OGY OF THIS
PERIOD.

He permitted the full penalty of human sin to be visited upon himself. His death was therefore voluntary, and achieved our redemption. He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and became our High Priest. He continues his work of leading man upward to final salvation. In the fullness of the time he will come to judge the world, when he will reward the righteous and punish the guilty.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit received but little treatment. The discussions on the Logos were so animated, and were of such broad scope, that they precluded a careful examination of the third person in the Trinity. The theologians, it must be carefully borne

¹ Clemens Alex., Strom., vi, 9.

² De Principiis, ii, c. 6, 3.

in mind, were largely on the defensive during the entire period, and wrote only on those subjects which had been invaded by hostile hands. Singularly enough, the Holy Spirit was not made a subject of frequent or prominent attack, and hence the Church was not impelled to a formal examination of the doctrine. So far as the Christian writers wrote on this theme they dismissed it with such general statements as were productive of but little good. The literature of the whole period down to the Nicene council would suffer but little if every declaration of the writers concerning the Holy Ghost were left out, and nothing permitted to remain except their citations from the Scriptures. There was no emphatic and elaborate teaching on the Holy Spirit until the beginning of the fourth century. This, however, must not be construed, as some critics, with the Tübingen school as exemplar, have been bold enough to do, namely, that because it was an omitted doctrine it was therefore no doctrine.

DOCTRINE OF
THE HOLY
SPIRIT.

The history of the Church bears frequent witness to silence on some great doctrine even for centuries, and yet it afterward appears that there was a profound belief in it during all the years. No two great theological questions can absorb public thought at the same time. They come singly, like men of genius, and for a great purpose, either to guide or to warn, to construct the good or pull down the wrong. The eye of the whole pagan and Christian world was fixed on Christ for three centuries, and it was no easy or even necessary task to direct it toward the third person in the Trinity.

SILENCE ON A
GREAT DOC-
TRINE NO
PROOF OF ITS
MINOR IMPOR-
TANCE.

The general teaching of the Church on the Holy Spirit was that he was the divine principle of prophecy, of the generation of Jesus,¹ of the awakening of the sinner, and of the sanctification of believers. His place in the Trinity was the point of greatest variety and unfortunate speculation. Hermas identified the Holy Spirit with the Son. Lactantius spoke of him as the "impersonal power;" others called him the "angel;" and still others denominated him the first "creature." Justin gives him the third place in his theory of the Trinity.² The separate and divine personality was most clearly taught by Origen and Tertullian, and their view became the controlling one. The first stage in the theological recognition of his divinity was that he proceeded from Christ, and was of equal divinity with him. The second view was that he proceeded from both the Father and Son. This became the prevailing doctrine of the Church by the beginning of the fourth century, and so remained for a time, until the

GENERAL
TEACHING ON
THE HOLY
SPIRIT.

¹ Justin, Apol., i, 33.

² Apol., i, 6.

rise of the great filioque controversy, which agitated the entire Christian Church and became one of the forces which caused the final rupture of the Greek and Latin Churches.

The teaching on creation gave a large scope for cosmological speculation. But the view which comes out clearly, amid all the clouds of theory, was that God created the universe from nothing. Justin came nearest to questioning the original divine creation when he said that God formed the universe from already existing, but chaotic, materials. But by following him to the end we find that he made God the original creator of this formless material.¹ No modern theologian has presented in stronger light the divine creation of the universe, and by the free will of God, than Tertullian,² who held that God did not need the world for his own glory, but that he created it for man.

THE CHURCH HAD AN IMPORTANT OFFICE TO PERFORM IN ITS CONSTRUCTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY. The pagan view went back to a golden age only in theory; when it came to define man's nature he was placed very low, and yet but little lower than the sinful gods. The Gnostics and Manichæans, on the one hand, taught the sinfulness of the soul from its connection with the body, because of the native evil in matter. The fathers taught, on the other hand, the original perfection of man, and his fall through the abuse of his own liberty. God was in no sense the author of man's sin and consequent guilt, but man, having a free will, chose to do evil. Sin, therefore, passed into universal humanity. But while man is a sinner there is no soul that is without the element and possibility of good.³ Both Theophilus of Antioch and Tertullian taught that man can arrive at spiritual excellence by the development of the spiritual faculties through his own choice and the quickening power of the Spirit. His free will, which he first abused, still inheres in him, and he can use this liberty toward his restoration. Justin held that if he had no free will he would be like a tree or a beast,⁴ and would have neither praise nor blame for his deeds. The process of salvation, as taught at this time, was, that by man's resolution and effort he arrives at faith. But in order to so arrive he must have divine grace, without which he would remain in helpless sinfulness.⁵

¹ Apol., i, 10; Dialog. cum Tryphon., c. v.

² In his work against Hermogenes.

³ Tertul., Nulla anima sine crimine, quia nulla sine boni semine. De Anima, c. 41.

⁴ Apol., i, 43.

⁵ Iren., Advers. Hæres., iv, 38, 3; Just., Apol., i, 10; ii, 7; Clem. Alex., Strom., vi; Origen, De Principiis, iii, 1, 3.

The Greek teachers were united in their view of the complete freedom of the will. Tertullian—here, as in many other respects, the predecessor of Augustine—was most inclined to limit it. Three views prevailed as to the time and mode of the soul's existence. The first was its preexistence before union with the body; the second, that it was transmitted from Adam through all generations; and the third, that each soul is created with the body at birth. The first view, which was warmly advocated by Origen,¹ was the first to pass away, and in the fourth century was pronounced heretical. The second, or traducian, warmly advocated by Tertullian, survived it, and was held by many of the fathers, but finally retreated before the third, which became the established theory.

THREE VIEWS
OF THE SOUL'S
PREEXISTENCE.

Connected with the origin of the soul was the further question of man's physical mortality and the soul's immortality. Tertullian held that mortality was first a result of sin and was propagated by Adam to his entire posterity. Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and the Greek teachers generally taught that our mortality did not take place because of Adam's sin, but because of the nature of the body. It was created a mortal body, and would have remained mortal even if Adam had not sinned. The fathers were divided as to the mode by which the soul became immortal. Justin, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, and Arnobius regarded it as a direct gift of God; while Origen and Tertullian considered it simply a natural attribute of the soul, without which the soul could not exist.

PHYSICAL
MORTALITY
AND THE
SOUL'S IM-
MORTALITY.

The doctrine of the Church was clearly defined in the consciousness of the Christians of this period. The general social life was seen to be corrupt because of the false faith. It represented organized impurity. The Christian separated himself from it, and in doing so he united himself with another body of different character, which consisted of fellow-believers in all ages. This was no social compact, but a spiritual body, a living temple of faith, in which Christ dwelt in power and love. Hence the Church is the visible and organic form of Christ's present life on earth. The term *ecclesia*, which Ignatius frequently used in reference to the single congregation, was also applied by him to the entire body of believers. The Church, established by Christ, has for its object the culture of the soul until its final release from its human bondage. This office it performs by its dispensation of truth, the symbols of faith, and those subtle joys that come of its social life. The Church is therefore the abode of the truth and

DOCTRINE OF
THE CHURCH.

¹ De Principiis, iii, 5, 4.

the way and the life. Tertullian speaks of the original congregations as the depository of true doctrine,¹ "where the pulpits of the apostles still stand, where their original letters are still read, where their voice still echoes, and where their testimony is still preserved as a true and holy legacy."² The Church is the mediator between the Holy Spirit and the believer. God has posited in it the universal operation of the Spirit,³ by whatever name we call it, either the household of God, the body of Christ, the bride of Christ, or the heavenly Jerusalem. There may be unbelievers in the Church, which comes from its location in a sinful world, but this is the mere accident of an unrighteous environment. It is the catholic, or general Church, not alone because it includes all believers and excludes heretics and schismatics, but is destined to cover all lands.⁴ It is the formal principle of universal truth, and yet is the one body of believers.

There were two stages in the development of the doctrine of the Church. The former extended to the middle of the third century, and was produced by resisting spiritualistic Gnosticism on the one hand and mystical and idealistic Montunism on the other. The latter extended from the middle of the third century to the middle of the fifth, and was shaped, through Cyprian and Augustine, by the opposition to the idealism of the Novatians and Donatists, and the Manichean doctrine of human perfectibility.⁵

There were two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper. The theological interpretation of baptism was such as to clothe it with a measure of original power in the administrator of the sacrament. While with some it was emphasized as the symbol of the regeneration of the heart, the justification of the sinner, and the communication of the Holy Ghost, there was a universal belief that there was in part a union of the Holy Spirit with the water, and in part a simultaneous baptism of the Holy Spirit with the baptism by water.

No leading teacher of the Church regarded the sacrament as only a symbol of regeneration.⁶ Even Origen, who says that baptism by water is a symbol of the purification of the soul, also affirms that, in and of itself, baptism is the beginning and the source of

¹ *Ecclesiæ apostolicæ; ecclesiasticæ matrices.*

² *De Prescrip.*, p. 36. *Comp.* 20, 21.

³ *Iren.*, iii, 24, § 1.

⁴ *Pseudo-Ignatius Smyrn.*, 8; *Iren.*, i, 10, § 1, 2; *Cyp.*, *De Unit.*, *Eccles.*, 5.

⁵ *Niedner*, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie christlichen Zeit*, p. 69.

⁶ *Nitzsch*, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, p. 387.

the gifts of the Spirit.' The terms describing the water indicated that the writers regarded it as possessing regenerating power. Gregory of Nazianzum later called it the sacrament of the new birth: 'Cyprian, the regenerating water;' and Augustine, the sacrament of birth and regeneration.' There is a frequent declaration that baptism had the effect of communicating all the gifts of the new spiritual life. Hermas affirmed that those who are baptized in the death of Christ rise to a new life with him; 'Gregory of Nazianzum, that it is the death of the flesh and the life of the Spirit;' and Theodoret, going even further, declares that baptism communicates not only the forgiveness of old sins, but awakens the hope of promised blessings.' Justin and Clement of Alexandria' denominate baptism as the illumination of the Spirit, so far as a new consciousness arises in the recipient. Some went further still, and claimed for baptism that it was even the communication of immortality. Irenæus positively says that it suffices for incorruption.¹⁰ While there was this tendency to exaggeration of the office and effects of baptism the general view was limited to the forgiveness of sin. The Greek teachers were more pronounced in declaring the simultaneous gift of the Spirit, while the Latins were more cautious, and spoke confidently only of the negative operation, the regeneration of the soul.¹¹

VIEWS OF THE
FATHERS ON
BAPTISM.

But with all the virtue original in the water of baptism no teacher made it a substitute for faith in the adult to be baptized or on the part of sponsors in the case of infant baptism. Baptismal regeneration was dependent upon the Holy Spirit, and was an essential part of the efficacy of the sacrament itself.

The form of baptism was not confined to either immersion or sprinkling, although immersion was ordinarily the universal form of baptism in the ancient Church. Pouring or sprinkling was freely practiced in case of scarcity of water, sickness, and the like.¹² The question of immersion as the

NO ONE FIXED
FORM OF BAP-
TISM.

¹ τὸ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θείᾳ χάριτι τῆς ἐνδύσεως τῶν τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριᾶδος ἐπι-
κλήσεων.—Ἡ χαρισμάτων θέλων ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ. In Joh., Tom. vi, 17.

² Orat. Catech., Tom. iii. c. 33.

³ De Grat., c. 4.

⁴ In Joh. tr. v, Tom. ix, and De Bapt. c. Donat., iv, 24.

⁵ Sim., ix, 16.

⁶ Comp. Wilmann, Gregor von Nazianzum, p. 461.

⁷ Hieret. fab., v, 16.

⁸ Apolog., i, 61.

⁹ Pæd., i.

¹⁰ ib., 17, § 2.

¹¹ Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 388. Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, Book xi, chap. iii. Stanley, Christian Institutions, chap. i.

¹² See Teaching of Twelve Apostles, vii. and Schaff, notes on the same, and his dissertations in his edition of the Didache. pp. 49-56: Smyth, in Andover Rev., i, 533, 663.

indispensable form of baptism was not mooted in the Church till the seventeenth century. Even the first Baptist Churches practiced affusion. Tertullian mentioned infant baptism only to disapprove it, while Origen favored it and described it as an existing usage.¹ Cyprian gave a similar indorsement.² After the middle of the second century its validity was not seriously questioned, and was universally acknowledged by the middle of the third.³ The baptismal formula of our Lord, which Justin says was used in baptism,⁴ became the type of all the oriental baptismal symbols, and so remained until the councils gave forms for general use.⁵

The Lord's Supper was an oblation or offering,⁶ which was the sign of the death of Christ. The bread was a sign of the body and the wine a sign of the blood of Christ.⁷ With some, as Justin and Irenæus, the more conservative view prevailed, that the bread and wine were a mere thank offering in commemoration of our Lord's death. Ordinary bread and wine mixed with water were used at the service.⁸ After the second century none but persons already baptized were permitted to participate in the Lord's Supper. During this entire period we find no clear trace of the doctrine of transubstantiation, save in a theory started by Irenæus, that the elements, after consecration, had the effective power of the body and blood of Christ. The universal view was that in the mind of the elder offering the prayer of thanks and performing the act of consecration there was a state of mind which symbolized the elements and brought love and faith into special relation to the death of Christ.

The declaration, after consecration, that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ, was a liturgical accommodation, and did not carry with it the idea of an actual transformation. All the writers who gave character to the theology of the Church down to the close of the fourth century, such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, looked upon the elements solely as symbols of the body and blood of Christ. After the middle of the fourth century the view gained strength that the elements, after consecration, possess the effective power of the body and blood of Christ. From this

¹ In Levit. Hom., Opp., viii, Tom. ii.

² Epist. lix, ad Fidum.

³ Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 387.

⁴ I Apol., lxi.

⁵ Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte, 1879, p. 27.

⁶ θυσία, προσφορά—oblatio, sacrificium.

⁷ Tertul., Adv. Marc., iv, 40; Origen, In Matt. T. xi, 14; Cyprian, Ep. lxiil, ad Cæciliam.

⁸ ἄρτον, κοινὸν ἄρτον. Comp. Iren., v, 2, 3. Cyp., Ep. lxiil.

as a beginning the theory that there is a transformation of elements at consecration, which some find in the words of Justin,¹ was made prominent, and the complete substantial change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ was a highway toward a later recognition in the grosser and more realistic days of the Latin Church. Gregory I was the first to give a fixed and final form to the theory, from which transubstantiation, in all its force, grew, that in the Lord's Supper the sacrifice of the Redeemer on the cross perpetually repeats itself as an offering for sin for both the living and the dead.²

We now come to the eschatology of this period. In every age of persecution and conflict the Christian mind has turned toward a speedy coming of Christ as the most open path ^{ESCHATOLOGY.} to security and happiness. The chiliastic hopes of the Church were excited even before the close of the apostolic period, and they were still further quickened as the territory of Christians widened, and the hand of the persecutor was felt in those farther parts which were removed from the sympathy of the Christian centers. The earliest advocacy of the early millennial reign of Christ is to be found in the Epistle of Barnabas,³ where the theory is advanced that, as the world has been in existence six thousand years, according to the analogy of the six creative days and the standard of the Scriptures, that with God a day is as a thousand years, so the seventh day, or the seventh thousand, is the day of rest, after the Son has conquered all his foes, and his children will be renewed, with pure hands and hearts. Papias also expected the early millennial reign of Jesus, while Irenæus appealed, in proof of it, to the words of scriptural promise.⁴ Montanism built a large measure of its theology on the hope of Christ's early coming, and Tertullian, during his Montanistic period, was as warm a defender of it as Montanus himself.⁵

The Alexandrian theologians arose in great vigor against all chiliastic expectations. Origen declared them mere fables, unworthy of a moment's confidence, though the Egyptian Church

¹ I Apol., lxvi.

² Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 290, f.; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, ii, 235-247; Phinney, *Letters on the Eucharist*, Baltimore, 1880—a strongly reasoned treatise, with full quotations from the fathers in the original and translations; Hebert, *The Lord's Supper: Uninspired Teachings*, Lond., 1879, 2 vols., the best collection of testimonies; Jacob, *The Lord's Supper Historically Considered*, Lond., 1884—a strong argument against all High Church views; Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, Lond., 1885, one of the best of the High Church statements.

³ Cap. 15.

⁴ Isa. xi, 6; Matt. xxvi, 29; 1 Cor. vii, 31.

⁵ Adv. Marc., iii, 24.

was freed from them largely through the strong opposition of Dionysius. The Western Church was not at any time seriously disturbed by them, save by the pronounced friends of Montanism. In neither Clement of Rome nor Ignatius are there any chiliastic traces, and the same may be said of Polycarp, Athenagoras, and Theophilus.¹ As the period of persecution drew toward a close the millennial anticipations receded into the background. The present being attractive and free from pressure, there was a greater willingness to postpone the coming of Christ.²

ALEXANDRIAN
THEOLOGAINS
OPPOSED CHIL-
IASTIC EXPECT-
TATIONS.

The condition of the soul after death was the subject of a variety of opinion. Some, as Justin and Tertullian, held that the righteous, after death, enter into an intermediate state of happiness and there await the resurrection to final blessedness. This intermediate state, according to the analogy of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, is Abraham's bosom. Origen looked upon an intermediate state for the righteous as a necessity, that there should be such a school as a preparation for the higher mansions.

THE SOUL
AFTER DEATH.

In the Alexandrian theology we find the first traces of a purgatorial fire. Clement of Alexandria applied the Baptist's declaration, that the Messiah would baptize with fire, to an intellectual fire,³ which should purify all sinning souls. Origen made the final fire, which should destroy the world, as that fire of purification which should purify all souls, even the most righteous—such as even Peter and Paul.

FIRST TRACE
OF PURGATO-
RIAL FIRE IN
THE ALEXAN-
DRIAN TEACH-
INGS.

He was gentle enough, however, to make it a painless flame, as prophesied by Isaiah,⁴ just enough to serve as a second regenerating process.⁵ Of all the dead before Christ the theologians of the time declared that they were in this intermediate state, or hades, where the Gospel would be preached to them, or had been preached to them by Christ.⁶ During the first three centuries the

¹ Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, pp. 146, f.

² For the opinions of the fathers see Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctr., § 75. The best historical summary is Briggs, Origin and History of Premillenarianism, in Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1879. For the premillennial side of the history see Taylor, The Reign of Christ on Earth, or the Voice of the Church in all Ages, rev. ed., East., 1882. An excellent section by Schaff, Church. Hist., ii, 613-620.

³ Πῦρ καθάρου.

⁴ Isa. xliii, 2: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned: neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."

⁵ Sacramentum regenerationis.

⁶ Huidekoper, Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld, 5th ed., N. Y., 1883.

view was general that all who died would enter the intermediate state.

Augustine advanced the theory that the purifying fire which some had placed at the destruction of the world possibly belongs to the intermediate state,¹ and this view was eagerly caught up and finally culminated in the later purgatory of the Latin Church. The present life was regarded as the only probationary state. Even the purgatorial discipline was simply a preparation for the unclouded glories of heaven. The form of punishment was variously construed, some placing it in material fire and others in mental agony. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa placed hell-fire in the consciousness of the lost. Clement of Rome and Cyprian declared the punishment of the wicked an eternal penalty, while Justin and Irenæus advanced the theory that the souls of the wicked may be destroyed.² The strongest defender of the restoration of the wicked after a long purifying process was Origen, who concluded his system by a conversion and general restoration, which included, it was thought by some, even the devil.³ This view was shared by the Antiochian theology, but was condemned as a heresy under the reign of Justinian.⁴

AUGUSTINE'S
TEACHING
CRYSTALLIZED
IN THE PURGA-
TORY OF THE
LATIN CHURCH.

The scope of this first independent theology of the Christian Church was, in the light of our inquiry, very broad, and comprised

¹ *Enchirid. ad Laurent.*, c. 68, *serm.* 172; *De Civitate Dei*, xx, 25; xxi, 13. Comp. Nitzsch, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 398, 402; and Herzog, *Abriß der gesamten Kirchengeschichte*, p. 146.

² There is a difference of opinion as to the views of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, growing out of the fact, perhaps, that they had not themselves thought out these questions thoroughly. Both plainly teach eternal punishment; and then, again, there are passages which lean toward annihilation. See Schaff, ii, 608, 609, and notes; Justin M., I *Apol.*, xxi, xxviii, xlv, lii; II *Apol.*, ii, vii, viii, ix; *Dial.*, xlv, cxxx. Ziegler, Irenæus, p. 212, says that Irenæus teaches eternal punishment, and quotes iii, 23, 3; iv, 27, 4, 28, 1; iv, 33, 11, 39, 4, 40, 1 and 2.

³ Origen nowhere says that the devil will be converted. He expressly states the contrary in *Ep. ad Rom.* viii, 9 (*Op.* iv, 634), and his letter, *Ad quondam amicum Alex.* (*Op.* i, 5). See Pusey, *What Is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* 3d ed., Lond., 1880, pp. 128-153. Augustine is responsible for this misconception (*De Civit. Dei*, xxi, 17). See also Plumptre, *On Origen's Universalism*, in *Spirits in Prison*, and *Other Studies on the Life after Death*, Lond. and N. Y., 2d ed., 1886, pp. 134-138.

⁴ Pusey (*What Is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* 3d ed., Lond., 1880, pp. 129-153) and Farrar (*Mercy and Judgment*, Lond. and N. Y., claus. x, xi, pp. 298-348) have entered largely into the condemnation of Origenism. Farrar shows that it was rather the peculiar views of Origen on other subordinate matters than his ideas of the punishment of the wicked which were condemned. Doubtless, however, this latter element was not wanting.

every fundamental doctrine. The distinction was well sustained between the essential and the theoretical. It was a time of speculation, when the atmosphere was full of clouds still floating aimlessly over the scene of civil opposition and spent faiths. If now and then a misty remnant of this harmless speculation should gather about one of the great heights of Christian faith and obscure its outline for a time, so that even the believer could with difficulty distinguish between the granite and the cloud, it occasioned no surprise or alarm. The Church was well disciplined in the sublime virtue of patience. It would be a harsh criticism to affirm that the general body of the Church was not clear in its view of the truth. The writers wandered into every path where the wary foe might be lurking for a new attack, and if they sometimes went too far from the stronghold of their faith, they always knew how to retrace their steps. If positive doctrine was too often obscured in speculation the general Church knew how to distinguish between them.

There is great danger of forming too low a view of the general intelligence and positive doctrinal convictions of the general body of believers. The writers were few but the Christian membership consisted already of millions. These were not only to be found in the centers of thought and commerce, but in those remote provincial parts where the Roman rule was in force by a slight tenure and where the conditions were rather tribal than organic. The missionary, then as now, was the herald of civilization, and about him were grouped a few believers who were seldom disturbed by news from the great and distant world. The death of a persecuting emperor or the meeting of a synod, or the condemnation of a schism, or the receipt of a consolatory epistle from Alexandria, Antioch, or Rome, was a piece of intelligence that would agitate the little brotherhood for a twelvemonth.

What was the faith of this great community of believers, who never wrote an apology or dared to address a protest to a persecuting Cæsar? They were not seriously disturbed by the war of words or the hairsplitting sophistries of men who had brought much of their paganism with them when they entered the Christian fold. When a schism once burst in upon their calm, and there was strife for a time and the fever ran high, it proved often a wholesome tonic. The excitement soon passed, and the old life of calm and united faith went on as before. Even at this late day, with all the advantage which the experience of ages has brought for the safe judgment of the causes of great

BROAD SCOPE
OF THE FIRST
INDEPENDENT
THEOLOGY OF
THE CHURCH.

THE ADVANCED
KNOWLEDGE OF
THE PATRISTIC
CHURCH.

CALM FAITH OF
THE GREAT
BODY OF BE-
LIEVERS.

results, it is difficult to determine whether the theology of this period was more determined by the writers themselves than by the general body of plodding and fervent members. The writer put on parchment what was in his mind and rested heavily on his conscience, but he was only the creature of his Christian generation. He was not the originator of thought so much as its mouthpiece. Huss in Bohemia, and Savonarola in Italy, and Luther in Germany were only the concrete forms and striking figures which their generations had created. They were representatives of aspirations that were intense long before their birth.

Therefore, if we look beyond the literary productiveness of this antenicene period, and inquire into the great background of the doctrinal belief of the average Christian of the time, we are compelled to conclude that his theology was of brief compass, and consisted only of the fundamental truths, for which he had ample proof in the exact words of the Scriptures. His was not an empty brain.

BRIEF COM-
PASS OF THE
FUNDAMENTAL
TRUTHS OF THE
AVERAGE
CHRISTIAN.

The most of his education was what his Scriptures had given him, and his theology was exact and close-knit. With him the process of the Logos toward manifestation was of no moment. His view was definite concerning the events at Bethlehem and on Calvary, and that satisfied him. As to whether the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, or from both the Father and the Son, he troubled himself nothing. He knew of Pentecost and of his own new birth, and this comprised his whole knowledge of the Paraclete. Whether all souls, or only the wicked, went into hales for an indefinite period never agitated him. He knew that this life was his only probation, and was satisfied that his Lord would not keep him long in suspense, after the persecution was over and the pilgrimage was terminated, before promoting him to behold his face.

We, therefore, hold that when the Nicene council was held, and began to formulate the approximate theology of the Church, the standard of doctrinal judgment was the general faith of believers far more than the theological treatises of the foremost writers. The men who met in that august body came from every part of the Christian world, and spoke and formulated through the impulse of the faith that prevailed in the whole community of Christian people. It was the first time, but by no means the last, when the will and thought of the vast commonalty of believers expressed themselves firmly and placed on record the conclusions which they had reached after the storms of two centuries. The real master at Nicaea was neither Athanasius nor Constantine, but the humble believer, who was

NICENE CREED
EXPRESSED
THE GENERAL
FAITH OF
CHRISTIANS.

keeping his flocks beside the Euphrates or cultivating his lentils far up the Nile, on the plain of Memphis, or singing his psalms beneath his thatched roof in Germania.¹

¹ Of the doctrine-histories, Crippen is the best brief view, Edinb., 1883, and Hagenbach the best of the larger works, 3 vols., Edinb., 1880. Sheldon has given an excellent survey intermediate between Crippen and Hagenbach, 2 vols., N. Y., new and enlarged ed., 1895. An invaluable handbook is Schmid, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th ed., by Hauck, Nördlingen, 1887. Harnack has reconceived the development of doctrine, and formed a new epoch in these discussions, vol. i, Lond. and Bost., 1896.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SCHOOLS AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE Church has always been a patron of the school. Even in the remote Jewish period there had been schools of the prophets, where young men grouped themselves about certain great prophetic characters, imbibed their spirit, studied ardently the sacred records, and in due time went forth as teachers of the people. Even as early in the history of the Church as the apostolic ministry of Paul we find the essential elements of ministerial discipline in that group of young men, of whom Timothy and Titus are representatives, who were inducted into Christianity through the labors of that apostle, who accompanied him on his journeys, not merely as attendants, but as inquiring observers of the development of the societies, and whom Paul regarded as the most natural and fit successors of himself and the other apostles. It was a beautiful legend of the patristic period that there had been, even in John's time, a school in Ephesus, of which that aged apostle was the head, whither young men flocked from all directions in order to gather from him his precious memorabilia of our Lord's ministry.

By the middle of the second century there were three great theological centers, two in the Eastern Church and one in the Western, where the foremost Christian theologians gathered about them younger minds, to whom they imparted their knowledge, and whom they prepared for work in the broad field of instruction and evangelization.

I. THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

The first of these schools was that of Alexandria. More than any other of the time, its model may be found in the philosophical schools of Greece. Alexandria had been for two centuries the center of the philosophic thought of the world. In this place, where the currents of the East and West met, the old schools of Attica enjoyed a temporary revival. The Museum had been, since the Ptolemies, the most flourishing school of classic learning, and Plato was as familiar a name within its halls as five centuries before, in the shaded walks of his own garden,

THE CHURCH
ALWAYS A PA-
TRON OF THE
SCHOOL.

THREE
SCHOOLS BY
THE MIDDLE
OF THE SECOND
CENTURY.

SCHOOL OF
ALEXANDRIA.

near the Academy of Athens. It could not be otherwise than that Alexandria should be a great battlefield of Christian thought, and that the Church would early recognize the necessity of concentrating its learning, and arming its younger and promising minds with proper weapons for the conflict.

There has been a divided opinion as to the quality of the first Christian school of Alexandria. One view has been that it was

**TWO VIEWS
CONCERNING
THE FIRST
CHRISTIAN
SCHOOL OF
ALEXANDRIA.**

originally a speculative center, where elder minds discoursed in all departments of theology to young men who came hither from an intellectual impulse to comprehend the doctrines of the Church into whose service they had entered. The other opinion has been that the school was at the beginning only a catechetical institution where children and such adults as had recently assumed Christian vows were instructed in the elements of Christian truth. The latter is probably the correct view, for the first necessity of the Church in Alexandria, as everywhere else, was in the rudiments of Christian doctrine.¹ Very soon, however, the catechetical department developed into a more formal Socratic method, and in due time there arose a great school, where men came from all directions and listened to those great teachers whose names were familiar in every part of Christendom. A singular feature of the school was that it does not seem, as with the great modern schools, beginning with those of the reign of Charlemagne, to have been under the direct patronage of the Church, or that the Church held itself responsible for its theology, discipline, or financial support. We do not find either synod or bishop devising plans for its greater effectiveness or employing measures to tone down its exuberant speculation. Whatever firm connection it may have had with the Church when it was purely catechetical, for the instruction of the young and persons who had lately come into the Christian fold from paganism, in its greater strength and full maturity it seems to have been a voluntary organization, presided over by some great mind, and taking its theological color from his own individuality. Both Justin and Athenagoras speak of the teachers as wearing the traditional mantle of the philosopher. By this they meant that the professors in the school of Alexandria did not teach as preachers, but as Christian philosophers.

We observe a beautiful balancing of tendencies in these first Christian schools. In Alexandria the subjective tendency was developed. From the East there had drifted into that great center

¹ Schleiermacher, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 130, f.; Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 10; vi, 3; Sozomen, iii, 15.

the impression that all matter was possessed with an element of inherent evil. Even the Eastern Christians, without being conscious of their dullness, were slow to accept the dignity of the human body. They gave as little faith in Paul's doctrine of a physical resurrection as possible. Their view of the human organization was that it is more a prison house of the soul than a temple of the Holy Ghost. But they compensated for this depreciation of the material man by an undue appreciation of his spiritual understanding.

BALANCING OF
TENDENCIES IN
THE FIRST
CHRISTIAN
SCHOOLS.

The Alexandrian school, as the representative of the most advanced Eastern Church, centered its entire theology in faith and knowledge. Faith was good, and a prime necessity. But it was only the root from which knowledge, or the *gnosis*, must grow. The language of Scripture was excellent so far as it went. But there

FAITH AND
KNOWLEDGE
THE CENTER
OF THE TEACH-
ING OF THE
ALEXANDRIAN
SCHOOL.

was an indescribable dread of the killing power of the letter. The intuition was elevated above the record, and the Christian vision could see into the far depths whither the language of the written word could not go. Only by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and bringing to his aid that subtle intuitive perception which beholds the real truth in its majestic solitude, could man arrive at the scriptural sense. With all the elaborate exegesis of the Alexandrian school, and Origen's constant reminders of the written word, there was at no time a full appreciation of the scriptural record. The Bible was only a heap of polished stones, and the architect might construct of them whatever temple his taste for allegory might suggest. This was the first mysticism of the Christian Church. Its motive was pure, but its premise, the sovereignty of the intuition, led it into manifold vagaries, which more careful writers were compelled in later years to spend their life in correcting.

The period of activity of the school of Alexandria covered about two centuries, or from the year 200 to 400. Pantænus and Clement stood at its head in the second century, Origen, Heracles, and Dionysius in the third century, and Didymus, the blind, in the fourth. In addition to these we must reckon Gregory Thaumaturgus, Petrus, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, who, though not directly connected with the school, sympathized with it, and in the Church of their period represented those general theological tendencies of which Alexandria was the center.

ACTIVE PERIOD
OF THE ALEX-
ANDRIAN
SCHOOL.

Pantænus was the founder of the school of Alexandria, and to him it owed that sympathy with the Greek philosophy which ever afterward distinguished it from other Christian schools. He was a

native of Athens and, before he embraced Christianity, a Stoic philosopher. He removed to Alexandria, where, after 180, PANTÆNUS. he identified himself with the instruction of Christian youth. The details of his life escaped all the early historians. Clement was his pupil, and left behind him the testimony that he surpassed all his contemporaries.¹ His life seems to have been varied and intense, and falls into three important departments. He had the burning zeal of an evangelist, and made a tour to India in the interest of the Church about the year 190. As an author he was a commentator on many of the scriptural books. His chief service, however, was in oral instruction.² It was in the circle of his disciples that he poured forth his thoughts with an eloquence and earnestness which lived in the traditions of the school as long as it existed.³

CLEMENT OF
ALEXANDRIA
AND HIS
WORKS.

Under Titus Flavius Clemens the Alexandrian school grew into colossal proportions as a center of Christian learning. Clement, like the master, Pantænus, was a convert from paganism, and was a man of mature years and well-disciplined mind before he accepted Christianity. He followed closely in the path marked out by Pantænus, and succeeded him as catechist or professor. He died about the year 220. His writings were less directed toward the internal edification of the Church than to attract pagan minds by removing objections to Christianity. The most of his works have survived only in fragments, four only being in complete form. The first of these is his Exhortation to the Greeks, which he designed, by its recognition of the value of pagan philosophy and its harmony with Christianity, to serve as an argument for the conversion of pagans. The second is The Pedagogue, a treatise designed both to lead to Christianity and to instruct in its general principles. The third work of Clement is his What Rich Man Shall be Saved? It is a small practical treatise, in which the right use of wealth, and its place in promoting salvation, are defined. The fourth is his Carpets or Rugs (Stromata), so named from the variety of its contents. This was his most important contribution to the literature of the Church. It is a survey, in disconnected form, of many departments of doctrinal and practical theology, but without any central thought. It is not like any of those rich oriental rugs, with a delicate center, from which all the figures radiate and blend into

¹ Strom., i, 1, p. 322.

² Jerome: "Hujus multi quidem in sanctis scripturis exstant commentarii; sed magis viva voce ecclesiis profuit." Cat., c. 26.

³ The writings of Pantænus have perished except two fragments published in Routh, Reliq. Sac., i, 375-383.

warm and harmonious colors, but, rather, a piece of complicated patchwork, in which the material is of finest fiber and skillfully woven, but from which the eye is repelled by its contrasts and the total absence of general design. Of all the theological productions of the early Church it is the nearest approach to the modern typical volume of theological essays, which, for the most part, is constructed of varied contributions to the periodical press, written in many moods and for momentary purposes, and made by violence and injustice to bear some common title.¹

Under Origen the school of Alexandria attained its greatest renown. A native of Alexandria, in the year 185, he reflected in his own remarkable personality both the strength and weakness of the Eastern theology. As Clement had enlarged upon the foundation laid by Pantænus, so Origen made the work of Clement the mere beginning of his own remarkable labors. His father, the learned Leonides, a Christian, recognized his genius, and superintended his education. He was a witness of his father's heroic martyrdom, and the impression made upon his mind by the scene was such as to give him an inspiration in behalf of Christianity which never forsook him. He was appointed catechist at the early age of eighteen, and from that time forth, until his death in Tyre, in the year 254, he wrote and taught with a vigor and fervor rarely surpassed by any theologian of later times. True to the principle which underlay the very existence of the school of Alexandria, that all truth is precious, whether in Greek or Christian soil, he became fascinated very early with the Platonic affinities with Christianity, and heard with delight the notions of the Neoplatonist, Ammonius Saccas. He recognized in the revived Plato a powerful ally of Christianity. His elementary duties as catechist of the young and undisciplined were no longer a favorite field. He felt the impulse of a higher call. He accordingly employed an assistant to perform the catechetical work, while he engaged in the instruction of the more advanced on all the great themes of Christian science, and used the philosophy of the Greeks as the vestibule through which to admit his hearers into the temple of the Gospel. He was not content with coming in contact with such philosophers as resided in

ORIGEN THE
GREATEST
TEACHER OF
THE ALEXAN-
DRIAN
SCHOOL.

ORIGEN'S DE-
VELOPMENT
AND GROWING
FAME.

¹ Best edition, Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, in their *Patrum Apos. Opera*, 3 vols., Leipz., 1876-78, vol. i, and Dindorf, Oxf., 1868-69, 4 vols. For a full treatment of Clement see Kaye, *Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, new ed., Lond., 1888, and Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Lond. and N. Y., 1886, pp. 36-114. Love has made a special investigation of his Doctrine of the Future Life, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1898.

Alexandria, or sojourned there for a time, or with a patient study of the works of the departed Greek thinkers, but employed his intervals of rest in visiting other countries, where he might study the truth amid the most favorable environment. He made lengthy journeys in behalf of the Church, one of which was to Arabia, another to Rome, a third to Antioch, in 218, and a fourth to Palestine, in 228. During his stay in Palestine he was ordained presbyter by the Bishops Theoctistus, of Cæsarea, and Alexander, of Jerusalem. His fame extended rapidly through all the countries of the Eastern Church.

But enemies to Origen appeared at home, who were more inspired by jealousy than zeal for the honor or orthodoxy of the Church. His bishop regarded his ordination in Palestine as an infringement on his own prerogatives, summoned him home for trial, and caused his excommunication at the Alexandrian synods of 231 and 232 for doctrinal error and illegal ordination.

Origen's work in Alexandria being ended he now proceeded to Cæsarea, where he opened a theological school. Palestine and Syria were a ripe field for theological activity. Many of Origen's students were already there, and every important city had its Christian scholars. The aged Julius Africanus gave him a cordial welcome. Besides, Origen had the powerful support of the emperor, Philip the Arabian, and the undiminished confidence of the Church east of the Mediterranean. His excommunication was regarded as a stroke of great injustice. Rome alone sustained the Alexandrian synods in that act, while the churches of Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Achaia repudiated it. His excommunication was ignored, both by himself and the church where he labored, and he continued every department of his activity with uninterrupted zeal.

Origen's lectures attracted a great multitude of students, and Cæsarea threatened to supplant Alexandria as a center of Christian learning. When any great dispute arose in any part of the church where he now labored he was invited to attend, and, as in the case of Beryll at the Arabian synod at Bostra, in 244, it was frequently his rare fortune to convince the schismatic of his error and restore the church to unity. His labors in Cæsarea were interrupted by the persecution under Maximinus, the Thracian. He fled to Cappadocia, but afterward died through sufferings and exposure in the Decian persecution, in the year 254. "He was buried in Tyre, where for centuries his tomb, in the wall behind the high altar, formed

OPPOSITION TO
ORIGEN.

ORIGEN IN
CÆSAREA.

ORIGEN'S
GREAT POPU-
LARITY IN
SYRIA.

ORIGEN'S
DEATH.

the chief ornament of the magnificent Cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher. Tyre was wasted by the Saracens, but even to this day, it is said, the poor fishermen whose hovels occupy the site of that city of palaces point to a shattered vault beneath which lie the bones of 'Oriunus.'"

The works of Origen, written during a period of about fifty years, were as varied as his own versatile genius. They may be classified in five departments: First, Textual Criticism. Here belongs his Hexapla, a masterpiece of philological industry and skill, at which he wrought twenty-seven years. His purpose was to correct the errors of the Septuagint. He arranged the versions in six columns, one being the Hebrew in the original characters, then the Hebrew in Greek characters, then the Septuagint, and, last, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. This colossal work was in fifty volumes, and contained a wealth of textual annotations in support of what Origen conceived to be the correct reading. It was probably destroyed by the Arabs at their capture of Casarea, in 653.¹ Origen's Epistle to Julius Africanus was a defense of the authenticity of the Story of Susanna. Second, in Exegesis. Origen wrote extensive commentaries on entire biblical books; homilies, or practical treatments of special passages; and scholia, or brief critical discussions on difficult passages. What remains of these is precious, for Origen was the best expositor of the antenicene Church. Third, in Doctrine and Apologetics, he wrote *The Principles*, *The Carpets*, *The Resurrection*, and *Against Celsus*. Fourth, his works on practical theology comprise his exhortation to Martyrdom, and *On Prayer*, the latter work being a statement of prayer in general and an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. His correspondence was extensive, but his Epistle to Julius Africanus and that to Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea are the only complete portions which have been preserved. One of the most interesting books which have survived from ancient times is the *Philocalia* of Origen, which consists of extracts made by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzum, about 382, chiefly from the exegetical writings of Origen. It gives the most charac-

FIVE DEPART-
MENTS OF ORI-
GEN'S WRIT-
INGS.

¹ Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 123. Comp. Westcott, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1879, and in *Religious Thought in the West*, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, pp. 210, 211, who refers to Prutz, *Aus Phœnicia*, pp. 219, 306, quoted by Piper, *Ztschr. für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876, p. 208.

² What remains of this, the grandest work of antiquity, is edited in an admirable edition by Field, Oxf., 1875. See Taylor, in Smith and Wace, iii, 14-23. A critical edition of the complete works of Origen, the richest and most fruitful of all the writers of the early Church, is much needed.

teristic thoughts of Origen and preserves some of his best passages, otherwise lost.¹

Origen stood alone in the Church of this period. His active and original mind, his zeal for the Gospel, his love of unity, and his marvelous literary fertility, combined to give him a place occupied by no one else. In no one department could he be followed safely, though he was most reliable where we would least expect it, namely,

ORIGEN'S
VARIETY AS A
TEACHER. in exact textual criticism. When he touches doctrines we find him speaking of an eternal creation, the pre-existence of the soul, a pre-Adamite apostasy, and of a final universal restoration, although on the fundamental conceptions of Christian theology he was thoroughly orthodox. "No one, perhaps, had done so much," says Westcott, "to vindicate and harmonize the fullest acknowledgment of the perfect humanity of the Lord and of his perfect divinity in one person."² His sympathy with the Greek philosophy was largely accountable for this flexibility which he gave to scriptural doctrine. Indeed, there are traces not a few that so great was his charity for the Greek philosophy that it widened into a sympathy with the less worthy theories that came in from the darker East.

Origen's imagination was oriental. The scriptural word was to him a suggestion of a whole world of fancy and theory. From the plainest history his mind pictured an endless vista of organic truth. In the word he saw the literal. But this was only the foundation for the moral truth; while far below both he saw the mystical depths. Like Herder in the eighteenth century, he was intent on making the Old Testament rise from its lowly and dusty place of silent history and assume that glow of health and tension of muscle and rich coloring of drapery which belonged to the people of God in their joyous youth. With his wand he would awake to new heroism the sleeping giant and reveal to him a boundless field for victory. Here, where we find the weakness of Origen, we come also to his positive greatness. His service lay, not in what he taught, but in that peculiar magnetism which he imparted to everyone whom he reached by voice or pen.³ His intensity aroused the mind.

¹ Editions by J. Tarinus, Paris, 1618, and W. Spencer, Cambridge, 1658 and 1677. Best editions by Ketschau, Leipz., 1889, and J. Armitage Robinson, Lond. and N. Y., 1893. Comp. Crit. Rev., iii, 436.

² Smith and Wace, iv, 126.

³ "Innumerable teachers, priests, confessors, martyrs, arose from his bosom. And who can tell what admiration, what glory, what favor he enjoyed among all? What man with anything like real devotion did not fly to his teaching from all parts of the world? What Christian did not venerate him as a prophet, what philosopher as a master? Even imperial princes venerated him.

No one could fall asleep or remain a sleeper whom his voice could reach. He had in his day that peculiar power which Arnold of Rugby has illustrated in our century. The inspiration which was upon him and thrilled him passed into other minds and impelled them to activity. His earnestness was greater than his speech. His words reached never so far as the power of his personality. Origen's awakening influence was exerted by Origen on the whole Eastern Church. Excommunicated while living, and his doctrines, one after another, condemned in the subsequent centuries, his sincerity and creative spirit have nevertheless survived all opposition. While Clement, like Schleiermacher and Neander in our times, came into Christianity through the door of Platonism and brought with him his warm appreciation of its enduring elements, Origen admired Platonism from his original point of view as a Christian youth. But Origen went further than the master. He believed that the whole world abounded in truth; that the Promethean sparks had fallen upon all lands and animated all the better religions. Christianity, according to him, is the universal conqueror. In whatever hostile camp it can find the truth, let it be seized upon and used for further conquests. Here, then, in the eclectic power of the Christian religion to recognize and appropriate the truth, whether in Attica, Alexandria, or India, we must recognize Origen as the adamant character of his own times¹ and the prophet of these broader days.

ORIGEN'S WIDE
AND PERMA-
NENT INFLU-
ENCE.

The permanent inheritance we have in Origen is well told by Westcott, who says:

"We are his heirs. He has left us the duty of maintaining his conclusions in a later age, and with richer materials at our command. He has left us also the example of a life great, I will dare to say, by unsurpassed self-sacrifice. He has left us the encouragement of a faith which carried him through a life of martyrdom—a faith that all things are ours, because all things are Christ's. . . . His faith was catholic, and therefore he welcomed every kind of knowledge as tributary to its fullness. His faith was living; and therefore he was assured that no age could seal any expression of doctrine as complete. From his time the best thought and best literature of

WESTCOTT'S
TRIBUTE TO
ORIGEN.

Porphyry himself, when a youth, sailed to Alexandria solely to see him in his old age, and recognized in him one who climbed the very citadel of science. The day would fail me before I could tell of all his greatness or even touch on a part of it."—Vincent of Lerins, *Adv. Her.*, xxiii.

¹ His friends called him *'Αδαμάντιος*.

the West has been Christian, or profoundly influenced by Christianity."¹

The school of Alexandria declined after the departure of Origen, its greatest ornament and attraction. Dionysius, called by his contemporaries the Great, became its head in the year 233, but was unable to restore it to its former importance. He wrote many works on exegesis and doctrinal theology, but we have only such fragments as have been preserved in the works of Eusebius and Athanasius.²

Gregory Thaumaturgus was a student in the celebrated law school of Berytus, but was attracted to Cæsarea by the lectures of Origen. He then became a Christian, and was so beloved by the teacher, and inspired by his example, that he devoted himself to the service of the Church. He became Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea about the year 244, and died about 270. His labors were divided between authorship, the practical administration of Church affairs, and evangelistic work. So great was his zeal, and so exemplary his life, that some of his contemporaries attributed to him marvelous powers. His principal works were his ulogy on Origen and Canonical Epistle, the latter being a treatise on ecclesiastical discipline.³ Pamphilus was a presbyter of Cæsarea and founder of the school and library of Cæsarea, for which the beginnings had been made by Origen. His principal works were commentaries on the Old Testament and a Defense of Origen. He died in the year 309, during the persecution under Maximinus.⁴

DECLINE OF
THE SCHOOL OF
ALEXANDRIA.

GREGORY
THAUMATUR-
GUS AND PAM-
PHILUS.

II. THE SCHOOL OF ASIA MINOR.

The school of Asia Minor consisted more of a group of theological writers and teachers than of any formal educational center. That

¹ Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West, pp. 251, 252, which contains the noble essay, Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy, one of the finest of all estimates of Origen. See also his article in Smith and Wace, iv (47 pp.); Bigg, *l. c.*, pp. 115-234; Farrar, Mercy and Judgment, chaps. x, xi (pp. 298-348, N. Y. ed.); Redepenning, Origenes: eine Darstellung s. Lebens u. s. Lehre, 2 vols. Bonn, 1841, 1846; Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1889, vol. i, pp. 291-330; Freppel, Origène, Paris, 2d ed., 1875.

² Eusebius, II. E., iii, 28; vi, 41, 45, 46; vii, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28; Athan., De Sent. Dionys.; Jer., De Vir. ill., 69. Best ed., Migne, Pat. Gr., x.

³ In Migne, Pat. Gr., x (1857), 983-1243; Ryssel, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Sein Leben und seine Schriften, Leipz., 1880.

⁴ Routh, Rel. Sac., iii, 491, ff. See Eusebius, vi, 32; vii, 32; viii, 13; and De Mart. Pal., xi; Jer., De Vir. ill., 75.

country had been distinguished, from the time of Paul, for its fidelity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. In the second century it numbered among its more notable men Polycarp, Papias, Melito of Sardis, and Hegesippus. Its first tendency was toward a literal and Judaistic type of Christianity, but in the third century it assumed a broader character. It became a strong opponent of Gnosticism, and possessed vigor enough to suppress Montanism, which had grown up on its own soil, and drive it into a more promising field.

Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Julius Africanus were the leading representatives of the school of Asia Minor. Irenæus was the greatest ornament of this school. He combined the zeal of the evangelist with the skill of the finished writer. A disciple of Polycarp, he preserved the tradition of the apostolic times. His service to the Church was twofold, being directed, on the one hand, toward the defense against paganism, and, on the other, toward cementing the bonds of unity between Eastern and Western Christendom. In the year 177 he accompanied a Christian colony from Asia Minor to Gaul, and was ordained presbyter of Lugdunum, the modern Lyons, by the Bishop Pothinus. He succeeded to the episcopate of Lyons and Vienna in 178, and in 202 suffered martyrdom. His literary labors were divided between exegesis and apologetics. In the latter department he wrote *Against Heresies*, than which the Church of his times produced no work more finished or effective against Gnosticism.¹

Hippolytus, "the great unknown of the early history of the Church," belonged likewise to this school, by virtue of both the general spirit of his writings and his own admission of discipleship to Irenæus.² Concerning no great character in the early Church is there so much conflicting testimony. We have positive witness to prove that he was a disciple of Irenæus, and that he was not; that he was an earnest defender of the orthodox faith, and that he was a graceless Novatian heretic and died a martyr to his error;³ that he wrote a work on the two natures in

¹ Best ed., Harvey, Cambridge, Eng., 1857, 2 vols.; best life, Gouillard, St. Irenée et son temps, 1876; best on his theology, Werner, Der Paulinismus des Irenæus, Leipz., 1889. Comp. Parves, Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1890, pp. 685-689; Quarry, Irenæus: his Testimony to Early Conceptions of Christianity, in British Quar. Rev., July and Oct., 1879; C. J. H. Ropes, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1877, pp. 284-334; Lightfoot, in Contemp. Rev., Aug., 1876; Lipsius, in Smith and Wace (25 pp.); Bright, Waymarks of Church Hist., pp. 20, ff. There is an edition of his Third Book (Adv. Her.) by Deane, Oxf., 1874.

² Photius, Cod., 121.

³ Prudentius, *περὶ σποάων*. Hymn 11. Gieseler and Niedner favor this view.

Christ, and that he never did ; that he wrote the *Philosophumena*, and that Irenæus was its author ; that he was a long time bishop in the Church, and was held in high honor as an ecclesiastical officer, and that he never wore a miter, but died a presbyter ;¹ that, if a bishop, his see was both Aden, on the shore of the Red Sea, and Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber ; and, finally, that there were three Hippolytuses, and, after all, only one.

Even the general facts concerning the life of Hippolytus are, therefore, clouded in impenetrable mystery. He is one of those characters who took no pains to perpetuate a knowledge of their personal history, who never surrounded themselves with a group of scholars for the propagation of their opinions, and who saw clearly that unselfish devotion to the truth and the industrious use of the pen for the conquest of error would be a more enduring monument than the miter—if they wore one. After weighing conflicting testimony we conclude that he was a disciple of Irenæus,² that he was Bishop of Portus, that he was an earnest opponent of the Patripassian heresy, that he was highly revered in his own times as a wise and pure ecclesiastical officer, and a sound and strong theological writer. Until 1551 there was no unanimity concerning his works, but in that year a statue of him was discovered in the Ager Veranus, on the road from Rome to Tivoli, which contains, besides the calculation of an Easter cycle for sixteen years,³ a complete catalogue of his writings. The time may come when the pick and the spade will make such further revelations as will put to the blush many of our favorite conclusions, not only concerning Hippolytus, but many other creative minds of the early Church. Hippolytus wrote only in the Greek language. His works are of varied character, and comprise exegesis, doctrinal theology, polemics, apologetics, and chronology.⁴

¹ Bunsen solves the conflicting evidence concerning the mention of Hippolytus now as bishop and now as presbyter, by showing that the suburban bishops were members of the presbytery of the Bishop of Rome. Hippolytus and His Age, i, p. 269.

² Photius, Cod., 121.

³ Proof of his skill in astronomical science. Comp. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii, pp. 214, f.

⁴ Bunsen, in *Hippolytus and His Age*, Lond., 1852, 4 vols., furnishes our best information concerning the personal history of this remarkable character, his writings, and his relation to the controversies of his times, vol. ii, pp. 265–348. The best historical treatment is Dollinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, Edinb., 1876, to be read in connection with Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, 2d and enl. ed., Lond., 1830. The best discussion of his writings is Caspari, *Quellen zur Gesch. Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, vol. iii. The best article is Salmon, in *Smith and Wace* (20 pp.). Comp. Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, rev. ed., ii, 757–774.

Julius Africanus also belonged to the school of Asia Minor, but lived in Nicopolis, or Emmaus, in Palestine, and died about the year 232. His principal work was a Chronography, in which he furnished a parallel view of sacred and profane history, of which Eusebius made extensive use in his ecclesiastical history.

III. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

The school of Antioch, in Syria, was engaged principally in doctrinal theology and criticism of the sacred text. Its inspiration came largely from the example and writings of Origen, though there was no trace in it of the allegorizing tendency of that writer, on the one hand, or, on the other, of the minutely literal tendency. It was distinguished for its liberality in the discussion of doctrinal questions and for its zealous advocacy of the two separate natures in Christ. Its founders were Dorotheus and Lucianus. The former excelled as an exegetical scholar, and died about the year 290. The latter performed the service of a new critical edition of the Septuagint, and died a martyr in Numidia, about 311, in the persecution of Maximinus.¹ After his death the general tendencies of the school brought it into sympathy with the Alexandrian theologians, but an aberration took place after the rise of the Origenistic and Nestorian controversies. The prosperous period of the school of Antioch extended from about the year 300 to 420, and among its representatives were Theodorus, Eusebius of Emesa, Cyril Apollinaris, Ephraem, Diodorus, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. From Antioch as a center other schools were established, the principal of which was that of Edessa, in Mesopotamia.

IV. THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.

The school of North Africa gave to Latin Christianity its prevailing theological type. Not to Rome, but to Carthage, was the whole Western Church indebted for its first doctrinal impulse and structure. Tertullian, whose first works were in Greek, was the principal agent in this development. His fame, however, as a safe theologian, was compromised by his adoption of Montanism, and Cyprian must be regarded as the chief agent in upholding the honor of the Church

¹ Works in Routh, *Rel. Sac.*, ii, and Migne, *Pat. Grec.*, x, and Geizer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Chronographie*, Leipz., 1880, 1885, 2 vols. Comp. Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt.

² See Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt, and McClintock and Strong. Comp. Schaff, ii, 812-815.

SCHOOL OF
ANTIOCH.

TERTULLIAN
THE HEAD OF
THE SCHOOL
OF NORTH
AFRICA.

and defending its fundamental doctrines. He was the opposite pole to Origen in theology, though both were equally devoted to the interests of Christianity, and equally uncompromising in their treatment of its adversaries. Each represented in his own personality the peculiarities of the ecclesiastical territory in which he lived. While Origen sympathized with the Greek philosophy, Cyprian despised it as a hotbed of error. He saw no hope in its least objectionable features as tributary to the truth of Christianity. From Cyprian's example this antagonism to all pagan learning passed into the Western Church, and lasted, though in a decreasing measure, until the twelfth century.

A heroic zeal for the unity of the Church, an aversion to Gnosticism in every form, an exact and literal biblical interpretation, a caution toward all theological speculation, and a persistent energy in the organization and development of the practical and evangelistic side of the Church, were the fundamental characteristics of this school. Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius constituted its powerful representatives, and its prosperous period extended from about the year 200 to the death of Lactantius, about 330.

Tertullian, the son of an officer in the Roman army, was born in Carthage about 160. He was educated as a rhetorician, and practiced as an advocate. He became a Christian, and was ordained a presbyter in his native city. He very early engaged in authorship, probably during a sojourn in Rome. About the year 201 he adopted Montanism, and wrote the most important works of any period in the interest of that phenomenon. His works are of two classes, those before his Montanistic period and those during the time, and consist of apologetical, polemical, doctrinal, and practical treatises. His *Apologetics Against the Nations* was a defense of Christianity against pagan attack; his *Testimony of the Soul* was an attempt to prove that Christianity is confirmed by the nature of man; his work *Against the Jews* was a defense of Christianity against Judaism; and his *Prescription of Heretics* proves the right of the Church over against all heretics. To his doctrinal writings belong his *Baptism*, a statement of this sacrament against the heresy of the Cainites; *The Soul*, an anti-Gnostic discussion; *The Flesh of Christ*, in reply to the Docetæ; and the *Resurrection of the Body*, in reply to the Gnostic disbelief in the doctrine. In practical theology his principal works, during his orthodox period, were on *Prayer*, *Repentance*, *Martyrs*, *Theatricals*, *Idolatry*, *Women's Worship*, *Patience*, and *The Husband*.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.

TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian, in the beginning of his authorship, wrote in the Greek language, which, as with the Latin on the Continent in the sixteenth century, was regarded as the proper organ for the circulation of theological literature. But he soon saw that his audience would be limited, and therefore adopted the Latin for all his subsequent writings. It was a new language to Christianity. In the third century it was much the same that it had been in the first, excepting only the introduction of a feebler style than had distinguished the Coryphæi of Roman letters in the Augustan age. Tertullian had, therefore, to deal with a new element.¹

TERTULLIAN'S
USE OF BOTH
GREEK AND
LATIN.

He found no theological precedents or ecclesiastical nomenclature, and therefore was compelled to create a style, which, indeed, became the type of ecclesiastical Latin during all later times. His thoughts were clear and his convictions intense, and he wrote with a fervor which aroused the reader, fascinated him by its novelty of expression, and often carried conviction. He called to his aid history, logic, and all the arts of his first calling as a rhetorician. Satire and humor combined in happy measure. With all the fervor of the African sun in his veins he carried his enemy to the precipice and lost no time in hurling him down with a shout of triumph and a call for new adversaries.

TERTULLIAN'S
QUALITIES OF
MIND AND
STYLE.

Tertullian wrote his *Scorpiace* as a heroic antidote to that poison of the Gnostic Scorpions which declared there was neither significance nor virtue in martyrdom. Where the Latin was devoid of names severe enough for the enemies of Christianity his inventive genius, aroused by the passion and heat of the hour, invented new ones, from which nothing was wanting except moderation. His *Pallium*, or *Philosopher's Robe*, written in rebuke of his townsmen who taunted him with laying off the Roman toga and putting on the philosopher's mantle, probably with reference to his adoption of Montanism, abounds in as keen satire and stinging wit as can be seen in the verse of Juvenal or Persius, and which stands in relation to the early Church in much the same light as Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* to the Church of the sixteenth century. No pagan production elicited his admiration. He banished them all into a Dantean oblivion, and with the might of his strong arm he closed the door against all hope of return. In no writer of the early Church do we observe such vigor in dealing with the adversaries of Christ, or such volcanic combination of the pre-

WRITINGS OF
TERTULLIAN.

¹ Tertullian was probably not the first Latin father, as that honor belongs to Minucius Felix.

cious and the gross. "He was a volcano," says Jacobi, with great propriety, "which cast forth, in splendid eruption, flames and precious stones and dross."¹

Minucius Felix belongs to that class of authors to whom a single work has accorded a permanent place in literature. Of his personal history we have not even meager details. Some writers have supposed, from the picture of severe Christian persecution in his apologetical romance, the fascinating *Octavius*, that he was a contemporary of Justin and Athenagoras, but the many points of analogy between that work and the *Apology* of Tertullian lead to the conclusion that he was either a contemporary of that writer or belonged to the following generation.² That he preceded Cyprian is clear from the fact that the first five chapters of that author's *Vanity of Idols*³ is almost an exact extract from the *Octavius* of Minucius. In *Octavius* the writer presents in popular style an argument against paganism. Two friends, *Octavius* and *Cæcilius Natalis*, who have been associated intimately from childhood, take a walk along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. *Cæcilius* is still a pagan, and reverently salutes an image of *Serapis*. *Octavius* is a Christian, and proceeds to give reasons why the old belief in paganism should be cast off and Christianity accepted as the soul's only hope of salvation. The work is occupied in revealing the hollowness of polytheism rather than in giving formal statement of the doctrines of Christianity. It produced a profound impression, and extended into circles which the more caustic polemics

¹ *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 169. Schaff gives an admirable treatment, ii, 818-823. Best ed. (until the new Vienna ed. of Reifferscheidt, by Oehler and Leopold, Leipz., 1853-55, 4 vols. *Select works*, ed. F. A. March. N. Y., 1876. *Apol.*, ed. by Woodham, Cambridge, 1850, and by Bindley, Oxf., 1889, and translated by Bindley, Lond., 1889. *Comp. Church Quar. Rev.* (Lond.), xx, 265-267. For life, see Hauck, Erlangen, 1877, and v. Hartel, Vienna, 1890.

² In spite of the fact that Ebert showed conclusively in 1868 that the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix preceded Tertullian's *Apology*, and depended not on that but on Cicero's, *De Natura Deorum*, some scholars still adhere to the old view which places Minucius between Tertullian and Cyprian. Keim, *Röm und das Christenthum*, p. 471, and Mangold, in Herzog and Plitt, make the date of the *Octavius* between 178 and 180, and Dombart, in his edition of the work, Erlangen, 1882, assigns 180 as the probable date. (The *Apologeticus* was written in 197.) Ebert, in *Tertullian's Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix*, 1868, and in his *Geschichte der christlich-latein. Literatur*, 1874, makes the date between 179 and 185, and is followed by Kuln, in *Der Octavius des Minucius Felix*, Leipz., 1882. But Hartel, Klussmann, Salmon (Smith and Wace), and Schaff, ii, 841, still cling to the old view (although Van Hoven so far back as 1702 stated grave objections to it) which gives the priority to Tertullian.

³ *De Vanitate Idolorum*.

and speculative apologetics had never entered. The pleasing style, modeled after the disputations of Cicero, and especially the drapery of romance, gave it an influence second to no Christian romance in the early Christian centuries.¹

Cyprian has been regarded by the Church as the most distinguished representative of the school of North Africa. Because of his firmness in time of trial, his devotion to ecclesiastical unity against the schismatics of his day, his organizing power, and his bold and defiant attitude toward all pagan philosophy, he was the great bulwark of the Western Church against its many and strong adversaries. Converted to Christianity after middle life, or about the year 245, and bringing with him the skill of the rhetorician and the magisterial character of the noble family of which he was a scion, he saw that no time was to be lost, and that all his endowments must be utilized if he would make amends for his late conversion. From the first hour of his Christian life to his martyrdom, in the year 258, he presented the picture of a mind transfused with marvelous energy and yet with an irresistible calmness in the hour of trial. Seldom has a servant of the Church compressed more positive and permanent achievements in the brief space of thirteen years than was the case with Cyprian. He became Bishop of Carthage in the year 248, and every year of his tenure of office seemed to be an advance on the preceding in desperate energy and the wise dealing with his enemies. The paganism of North Africa recognized him as its deadliest foe. Hence, when the Decian persecution broke out, the first cry of the enraged rabble was, "Cyprian to the lions!" On becoming a Christian he distributed his wealth to the poor, and lived and wrought in voluntary poverty. He exhibited a sympathy with the needy and a charity toward the erring which proved not merely a native magnanimity, but the completeness with which the practical principles of Christianity pervaded his entire character. He expected martyrdom, and regarded it as the natural and proper means of terminating his life. In this he was not disappointed. He was too strong an adversary to be forgotten in the hour of persecution, and was therefore condemned to death. He welcomed his executioner with Christian cheerfulness, and, just before the fatal blow, presented him with twenty-five gold pieces, as a testimony of his love.

Cyprian was an industrious author, but the significance of his life does not lie so much in his works as in his personal worth and

CYPRIAN'S
PERSONAL HIS-
TORY.

¹ Renan, *Marcus Aurelius*, p. 402 (Fr.), p. 234 (Eng.), makes Minucius an easy-going Christian of the deistic type.

the general bearing of his administration. His works lack that symmetry and finish which could be expected of the retired scholar. He had only fragments of time in which to use his pen, but he lost none of them. He feasted upon the works of Tertullian, whom he recognized as his theological master. It is reported of him by Jerome that he never passed a day, during his Christian life, without reading some work of Tertullian, and that he often interrupted his amanuensis by calling to him, "Give me the master!"¹ In addition to his epistles, which number eighty-one and present a minute picture of his work and experience, he wrote in the general departments of doctrine, apologetics, and ecclesiastical discipline. The one great thought which pervaded all his writings was the essential unity of the Church. He regarded the Church as the embodiment of Christ's life among men, the depository of his truth and the representative of Christianity before the world.²

Commodianus and Arnobius also belong to the North African school, and lived during the latter half of the third century. Commodianus was a poet, who wrote in poor Latin hexameters a work entitled *Instructions Against the Gods of the Nations*.³ Arnobius was a rhetorician before he became a Christian. His *Disputations Against the Nations* was in a florid and artificial style, and bore traces of Gnostic sympathies.⁴ Lactantius belonged to the first quarter of the fourth century, and with him the significance and strength of the North African school came to an end. He had been a pupil of Arnobius, but far surpassed the master. He excelled all the writers of this period in the arrangement of his matter and the elegance of his style, and has been appropriately called "The Christian Cicero." He wrote a work, addressed to Demetrian, and entitled *God's Work in the Formation of Man*, in which he proved, after the manner of Paley

¹ Catal., c. 53.

² Best ed. of his work, Hartel, Vienna, 1868-71, 3 vols. Best monograph, Otto Ritschl, *Cyprian von Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche*, Göttingen, 1885. Nevin discussed his doctrine of the Church with great ability in *Mercersburg Rev.* for 1852 (four articles).

³ The *Instructions* were discovered by Seimard, and edited by Rigault in 1650. In 1852 Cardinal Pitra discovered and edited another poem of Commodianus, *Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judæos et Gentes*, fully as interesting as the first. Best editions of both by Ludwig, Leipzig, 1877, 1878. The second poem has never been translated into English; the first appears in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Christian Literature ed., vol. iv, pp. 203-218.

⁴ Ed. Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1875. This book was discovered in the sixteenth century, and first edited by Faustus Sabreus, Florence, 1543.

in the present century, the presence of design and providence in the structure of the human body. In his principal work, the *Divine Institutions*, he presents a formal statement of the Christian religion, and clothes every part of it with a strongly apologetical drapery.¹

The individuality of these schools was marked and forceful during the entire period of their existence. But with all the characteristics which belonged to each they represented the whole Church in its double effect for complete triumph over paganism and for doctrine and organic unity. They performed a service of immeasurable value, for they not only cultivated a taste for Christian learning, but produced a literature which was not merely a supreme necessity of the time, but which, after eliminating all that is ephemeral, has been a mine of wealth to the Church in all later times.² In addition to the men directly connected with them there were other writers, who were inspired by the same purpose of proving the necessity of Christianity for the salvation of the world. This is especially true of the Greek Church, where Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, Dionysius, and Hegesippus contributed largely toward the establishment of Christianity in directions not reached by any school of thought.

The intense intellectual activity which pervaded all the centers, and which aroused men in every part of Christendom and set them to thinking, is a striking proof of the first effect of Christianity in quickening the human mind. In the very places where the productive power of paganism had come to a pause, as though exhausted for the want of material out of which to build, Christianity was not content to pull down, but began to plan and rear her own immortal structures of thought. Nothing was forgotten. Formal doctrinal treatises, criticism on the sacred text, ecclesiastical history, and the whole cycle of practical duties had their keen minds, who laid broad foundations for the future limitless development of these sciences. These scholars, therefore, were not simply controversialists. If, with one hand, they stripped from the staggering paganism and Judaism their mask, with the other they disclosed to the world the majestic form of the Gospel, with its promise of rest for the weary and its destination to universal empire.

SERVICE OF
THE THREE
GREAT
SCHOOLS.

THE CHURCH
REARING PER-
MANENT
STRUCTURES
OF THOUGHT.

¹ Fritzsche, Leipz., 1842-45, 2 vols.

² Since this book was published, the elaborate monogram on Cyprian, Lond. and N. Y., 1897, by the late Archbishop Benson (died 1896) has appeared. It is one of the most scholarly and complete works ever written on a Father of the Church—the fruit of twenty years of research. The lamented author did not live to see it from the press.

LITERATURE: APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.

On the apocryphal literature in general, see the articles by Hoffmann, and Dillmann, in Herzog, 2d ed.; the elaborate articles by Lipsius, in Smith and Wace; the Edinb. Rev., cxxviii, 81, ff.; London Quar. Rev., xxxi (1869), 427, ff.; Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), xii, 84-114; Cruttwell, Literary History of Early Christianity, i, 151-180; and the following works:

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2. Thomson, J. E. H. Books which Influenced our Lord and his Apostles. Edinb., 1891. See Crit. Rev., ii, 94.
3. Deane, W. J. Pseudepigrapha: An Account of Apocryphal and Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. Edinb., 1891. See Crit. Rev., ii, 93; Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), xxxii, 517-519.

The best editions are by Tischendorf: Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Leipz., 1851; Evangelia Apocrypha, Leipz., 1853, new ed., 1876; Apocalypses Apocryphæ, Leipz., 1866.

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1. Drey, S. von. Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Kanones der Ap. Tüb., 1832.
2. Platt, T. P. The Æthiopic Didascalia; or, the Æthiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia, with an English translation. Lond., 1834.
3. Bickell, J. W. Geschichte des Kirchenrechts. Giessen, 1843, 1849.
4. Tattam, Henry. The Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic, with Eng. transl. Lond., 1849.
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7. Fulton, John. Index Canonum, 3d ed., enlarged, pp. 79-109. N. Y., 1892. An admirable volume.

See the article by Shaw in Smith and Cheetham, i, 110-126; and by Newman in Hist. Sketches, i, 417, ff. There is also a translation by Chase of both the Constitutions and Canons, with an Essay by Krabbe on their origin and contents. N. Y., 1848. See Schaff, ii, 183-187. Translated also in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ch. Lit. Co., vii, 391-505. For full bibliography see pp. 86-89 of Index vol. of the Anti-Nicene Fathers, published by the Christian Literature Co., Buffalo (now N. Y.), 1897.

CHAPTER XVII.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.

DURING this period of intellectual ferment there was a rapid increase of spurious writings. The scriptural canon could be determined only by severe and deliberate criticism, and during the process there arose many claimants to a permanent place in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The reverence in which the more prominent and unquestioned writers of the biblical books were held, and the constancy with which they were appealed to, was abused to such an extent that many other writings were palmed upon the public in their honored names. In addition many works were written and circulated which claimed to be the productions of men in both the Jewish and apostolic times whose names had never before appeared in the catalogue of inspired authors. Even the fathers who stood foremost in the confidence and love of the Church, and who had done heroic service by their pen, no sooner passed away than new works were thrust out with the declaration that they were a part of the precious literary legacy which they had bequeathed to posterity. In many instances it was easy to detect the fraud, because of the palpable contradiction of style and matter, but in many others it required a keener analysis than the age afforded to draw the safe line between the real and the spurious. Even to this day the authorship of some of the alleged writings of the fathers is an unsettled question.

INCREASE OF
SPURIOUS
WRITINGS.

This rapid growth of apocryphal writings has been construed by antagonists of the divine origin of Christianity as a striking proof of the superstitious and uncritical character of Christians during the first three centuries. The love of the marvelous and legendary has been elevated into a strong factor of the general Church. But when we look at the origin of these spurious works this serious error immediately disappears. The most of the spurious writings emanated from dissatisfied and schismatic parties in the Church, while some of them were the productions of pronounced enemies to all the essential doctrines of Christian-

MISCONCEPTION OF THE
IMPORTANCE
OF THE APOC-
RYPHAL WRITINGS.

ity.¹ Both Ebionites and Gnostics, finding themselves driven to retreat by the positive declarations of the writings always recognized as inspired and canonical, found it a convenient method to produce other writings, which they could use for their own escape. It was the fashion of the hour to support a schism, a heresy, and every theological vagary by the manufacture of appropriate apostolic and patristic testimony.

The enemies of the Church, and not the general Church, must be held accountable for this abnormal department of early Christian literature. By some of the theologians in highest esteem its large growth was recognized as a calamity, fraught only with serious danger to the cause of sound doctrine and the steady growth of a pure Christian literature. Irenæus says of only one Gnostic sect, the Valentinians, that it produced an "indescribable multitude of apocryphal Scriptures,"² and Epiphany says that apocryphal writings of the Gnostics amounted to thousands.³ But while the dissatisfied elements in the Church must be made responsible for the larger and grosser part of this spurious literature, the fact still remains that from the Church itself there emanated many works of spurious origin, which even some of the better writers mistook for authentic and used in defense of Christianity.⁴

The authors of the apocryphal writings did not adopt moderate measures. Their empire was the world. Both the past and the future lay before them as a panorama. Prophecy was as easy a feat with them as history; in fact, their prophecy was generally identical with history; for, by a convenient arrangement, their ratiocinations did not see the light until the events had occurred. They were as much at home in the remote patriarchal period as in the

THE ENEMIES
OF THE
CHURCH RE-
SPONSIBLE FOR
THE APOC-
RYPHAL WRIT-
INGS.

EXTREME
MEASURES OF
THE AUTHORS
OF THE APOC-
RYPHAL WRIT-
INGS.

¹ "It is remarkable how scrupulously the earliest orthodox writers resisted the temptation to invent legend, or even to give literary shape to legends already current. Nearly all the specimens of this literature betray, by tendencies inconsistent with the primitive faith, an origin outside the orthodox circle."—Cruttwell, *Literary History of Early Christianity*, i, 154.

² Adv. Har., i, 17.

³ Har., 26.

⁴ "Although these fables [Apocryphal Acts] originated for the most part in heretical quarters, we find them at a later period among the cherished possessions of ordinary catholics, acquaintance with them being perpetually renewed, or their memory preserved in catholic Christendom, partly by the festal homilies of eminent fathers, and partly by religious poetry and works of sacred art."—Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, i, 18. The orthodox used to revise the heretical Acts and gospels, omitting all that offended their views, being careful to preserve, however, all the miraculous elements.

apostolical, and were as skillful in writing works in the name of the Roman Clement as of Paul or Isaiah.

The five favorite fields for their type of literature were the Old Testament history, the life of Jesus, the labors and writings of the apostles, the epistles, and ecclesiastical polity and discipline.

The Book of Enoch was a product of the century immediately preceding Christ, but in the former half of the second century it underwent a revision, and was adapted to the new Christian conditions. It has been preserved in a translation from the Ethiopic manuscript,¹ discovered by Bruce in 1773. It has peculiar interest to Christians on account of the fact that St. Jude quotes it (verses 14, 15) as the work of Enoch. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, written by a Jewish Christian, is a combination of admonition and prophecy by the twelve sons of Jacob, in which they instruct their posterity on the various duties and foretell the incarnation of our Lord and the downfall of Judaism.² The Apocalypse of Moses has been preserved in only two fragments, one of which is an imitation of Paul, and contains an argument against the further necessity of circumcision.³ Isaiah's Ascension to Heaven is a description of that prophet's ascension to heaven, where an angel reveals to him important information, additional to his prophecy, on the ministry and glorification of our Lord.⁴ The Fourth Book of Ezra, originally a product of the decades immediately preceding Christ, underwent important changes after the rise of Christianity. It contains seven prophetic visions, in which both secular and religious events are described. The Prophecies of Hystaspes, a very

THE BOOK OF
ENOCH AND
THE APOCRY-
PHAL BOOKS
OF THE TIME.

¹ The Book of Enoch, translated by Laurence, Oxford, 1833. Dillmann, Das Buch Henoch, übersetzt u. erklärt, Leipz., 1853. Schodde, translation, Andover, Mass., 1882; Charles, translation, Edinb., 1894—both works furnished with full introductions and notes. Scholars are hopelessly divided as to the date and composition of the Book of Enoch. See Bissell, The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, N. Y., 1880, p. 663; Stanley, History of the Jewish Church, Third Series, lecture xlix; Stalker, in The Thinker, Feb., 1894, pp. 113-120; W. J. Deane, in Theological Monthly, iv, 1, ff. 229, ff. (1890); Lipsius, Enoch Book of, in Smith and Wace, ii, 124-129.

² Nitzsch, De Testamentis duodecim Patriarcharum, Wittenberg, 1810; Deane, in Theol. Monthly (London), May, 1891; Wardfield, The Apologetical Value of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in Presb. Rev., i, 57-84 (Jan., 1890)—a scholarly and exhaustive discussion.

³ Comp. Fabricius, l. c., p. 838.

⁴ Zolowicz, Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Proph. Iesaja, übersetzt u. erläutert, Leipz., 1851; Dillmann, Ascensio Isaie, in Ethiopic and Latin, with Prolegomena and Notes, Leipz., 1877; Schodde, translation in Lutheran Quarterly, Oct., 1878.

early Persian king, are of similar character, in a purpose to portray a universal Christianity. The work was of sufficient importance to win the attention of both Justin and the Alexandrian Clement.¹

In the same department of prophecy we must reckon the fourteen books of the Sibylline Oracles of this period. The oracles bearing this name were so highly regarded by the Romans before the time of Christ that a superstitious use was made of the same term for the promotion of Christian interests. The Sibylline Oracles which emanated from a Christian source present a prophetic picture of the history of the world, the coming of Christ, the labors of the apostles, the destruction of Rome, and the second coming of Nero as the antichrist.² During the second and third centuries they enjoyed great favor, because of their confidence in Christ's final triumph. Notable apologists frequently appealed to them. Their authorship is unknown. They claim to have been written by a daughter-in-law of Noah. The internal evidence, however, is strong that the exorcism began amid the fervor of the early Gnosticism of Alexandria, and reached its final form by gradual accumulation. By the time of Constantine the Sibyllines had lost the confidence of the Church and disappeared from public sight.³

The apocryphal accounts of our Lord were numerous. The First Gospel of James the Less gave minute details of the early life of Jesus and of the personal history of Mary. The Gospel of the Nativity of St. Mary, the History of Joachim and Anna, of the Birth of Mary and the Infant Saviour, of Joseph the Carpenter, the Gospel of the Infant Saviour, and the Gospel of Thomas bear on the same theme, and furnish a mass of legendary matter on the parts of the life of our Lord omitted in the

APOCRYPHAL
ACCOUNTS OF
OUR LORD.

¹ Apol. i, c. 20, 44; Strom., vi, 5; Lactantius, Inst. Div., vii, 15, 18; Walch, De Hystaspe ejusque Vaticiniis: in commentt. societ. Götting., i, 3. Justin says, the reading of Hystaspes and the Sibyl was made a capital offense, on account, doubtless, of their prophecies of the destruction of the Roman empire.

² Friedlieb, Die sibyllin. Weissagungen, Leipz., 1852. Thorlacius, Libri Sibyllistarum crisi subjecti: Conspectus Doctrinæ chr. in Sibyll. Libris. Havn, 1815-16. Volkmann, De Orac. Sibyllinis, Leipz., 1853. Ewald, Ueber Entstehung, Inhalt u. Werth der sibyllin. Bücher, Götting., 1858. Best recent edition is Rzach, Vienna, 1891, the author of Zur Kritik der sibyllinischen Weissagen, 1882. The only translation into English is that by Terry (blank verse), Cincinnati and N. Y., 1899. The best discussion in English is in Edinburgh Rev., July, 1877. See Warfield, in Presbyterian and Reformed Review, iii, 155 (1892); Schodde in Lutheran Quarterly, July, 1879; Lupton, in Smith and Wace, iv, 644-649; Besançon, De l'emploi que les Pères de l'Eglise ont fait des oracles sibyllins, Paris, 1851. Badt published a monograph on the fourth book, with text, Breslau, 1873. A scholarly study (probably by the editor, McClintock) appears in the Methodist Quarterly Review, Oct., 1854, pp. 489-533.

gospels. They show a superstitious disposition, even at this early day, to pay divine honors to the Virgin Mary. The Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Pilate, and the Epistle of Lentulus bear on our Lord's passion, and are equally minute in legendary history.¹ Apocryphal correspondence includes the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, an Epistle to Corinthians in the Armenian language, the Correspondence of Paul with Seneca, the Epistle of Ignatius to the Mother of Jesus, and the Epistles of the Holy Virgin to the Inhabitants of Messina, Florence, and other cities. The Apocalypse of Peter, the Ascension of Paul, and the Apocalypses of Thomas and Stephen, and a second one by John, are only a few of this final department of spurious Scriptures, which derived much strength and luxuriance from the millenarian expectations aroused by Montanism and other movements.

The disposition to use borrowed names in support of novel history and special deviations from the doctrines of the Church exhibited itself also in relation to discipline and order. The proper treatment of the lapsed, which was the fundamental point of variance between Rome and Carthage, was one of the chief sources of spurious writing, and the apostles were appealed to by the champions of both the mild and severe views.

DISPOSITION
TO USE BOR-
ROWED NAMES.

The Apostolical Constitutions is a collection, in eight books, of instructions for both clergy and laity, on practical duties and ecclesiastical usages and polity. They claim to have been written by the apostles, but in reality arose at different times. The first six books bear internal proof of having been written in the last quarter of the third century, while the seventh and eighth are not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth. The Apostolical Canons claim the same authority but with as little foundation. They are brief rules for ecclesiastical discipline and law. The Western version gives eighty-five, while the Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic manuscripts comprise but fifty. They were issued as if by the Roman Clement as the work of the apostles; but they were afterward declared by the Roman bishop, Hormisdas, to be unworthy of confidence. Their hierarchical bearing, however, was too valuable to lose so easily, and in the Western Church they have held a strong place. The second Trullan council in the year 692 also recognized them as authority for the Eastern Church. They are probably the work of several authors about the end of the fourth century.

THE APOSTOLICAL
CONSTITU-
TIONS.

¹ Tischendorf, *De Evangg. Apocryph. Origine et Usu*. Hagre Com., 1851; Nicolas, *Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1866; Brunet, *Les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1866.

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2. Rothensee. *Der Primat des Papstes in allen christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Mainz, 1836-38, 3 vols.
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4. Greenwood, T. *Cathedra Petri: a Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate*, Lond., 1855-72, 6 vols. A monumental work of an English lawyer; learned and reliable. See Schaff, *American Theol. Review*. New York, 1864, pp. 9, ff.
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9. Bright, W. *The Roman See in the Early Church*, Lond. and N. Y., 1896. See *Nation*, N. Y., July 2, 1896, p. 16.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIMACY OF ROME.

THE government of the Church, like its theology and literature, was of slow and unsteady growth. There having been no divine regulation concerning an ecclesiastical polity, Christianity was compelled to adapt itself to the conditions by which it was environed, and devise such plans as might seem best for present and future development. The political structure amid which the Christians lived was the nearest and most natural model for an ecclesiastical framework, and, therefore, we observe no small measure of the civil regulations of the Romans reproduced in the first polity of the Church. The metropolitan center, the patriarchate, and the synodal bond had been originally a part of the political system of the empire, and in fact, not less than word, were incorporated into the government of the Church. This beginning was made even during the period of persecution, but after Christianity became a tolerated faith, and finally the religion of the State, the process of introducing the Roman political system into the government of the Church became more rapid and the resemblance more striking. Under Constantine the Church became only a small empire within the larger one. Until the middle of the second century the government consisted of a few general forms, having undergone but little change from the apostolic simplicity. But at this time the heresies appeared, and from this new necessity there arose a larger number of ecclesiastical officers and a more complicated general polity.

INFLUENCE OF
THE ROMAN
CIVIL SYSTEM.

There were two clerical classes, the minor and the greater. To the former belonged, first, the subdeacons, who assisted the deacons in the subordinate parts of the service. Then came the acolytes, who were assistants of the bishops in many subordinate relations. At the communion service they filled the cup with wine and water and had authority to administer the elements to the sick. The acolyte, though the name is of Greek origin, was a clerical office known only to the Western Church. The lectors, or readers, appear as a special clerical order at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. Their office was to guard the sacred manuscripts belonging to the society, and to

THE MINOR
ORDERS.

read such passages of Scripture in the public service as had not been read by the presbyter or deacon. Young men who were intending to enter the ministry were often appointed for this service, as the office was supposed to be an aid in preparation for the ministry, while the Church could determine, by the way in which the duties were performed, whether the candidate was a proper person to enter the ministry. In the time of Tertullian the office of lector was fully developed, for he brings the charge against the heretics that in their services a man is a deacon one day and only a lector the next.

In the fifth century the deacons began to assume the duties of readers. The subdeacons stood next in rank to the deacons, and were appointed to assist them. In every part of the Church great caution had been used in increasing the number of deacons beyond seven, the apostolic number,² and when this liberty was taken care was employed to state the necessity for the transgression.³

In the middle of the third century even the Roman society, with its forty-six presbyters and immense membership, had only seven deacons.⁴ The subdeacons received ordination, and in this respect differed from the lectors. They had charge of persons supposed to be demoniacs, and offered

prayers over them in behalf of the Church. In some churches they also had charge of catechumens, probably because of the supposed connection between exorcism and baptism. The Western Church alone possessed the exorcists as a special clerical class, the time of their origin being about the beginning of the fourth century.⁵ The Eastern Church was no less firm in its belief in demoniacs, yet did not employ the exorcists as a separate order, but merged their functions into the priesthood.⁶

The catechists were only seldom a special ecclesiastical order, their duties being performed by presbyters, deacons, and lectors. When the congregation was very large, as in the case of Alexandria, and those officers were too much employed, a catechist was em-

ployed for the special work of preparing candidates for admission into the Church. The hermeneutæ, or interpreters, were persons who interpreted the sermon and selections from the Scriptures into the language of the people, where that language was neither the Greek nor Latin. Such

DEACONS AS
READERS IN
THE FIFTH
CENTURY.

SUBDEACONS.

CATECHISTS
AND INTER-
PRETERS
AND OTHER
ORDERS.

¹ De Prescript. Hæret., c. 41.

² Eusebius, vi, 43. Jerome, Ep. 101, Ad Evang. Concil. Neo-Cæsar., c. 15.

³ Comp. Jacobi, Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte, p. 226.

⁴ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., 6, 43.

⁵ Apost. Const., viii, 26.

⁶ The Greek forms for exorcism may be found in Schmitt, Morgenland.-griech.-russische Kirche, Mainz, 1826, p. 141, and Assemani, Codex Liturg., ii, 315, f.

an office was especially necessary in the North African society, where the majority of the members spoke only the Punic language. Singers or precentors were employed in the larger churches, in proportion as sacred psalmody developed. The lowest officers in rank were the *ostiarii*, or doorkeepers, who served as ushers, preserved order, and had charge of the church building.

All these offices existed in full force by the end of the third century, and some of them as early as the middle of the second.¹ In the following period others arose as the wants of the Church increased and its temporal affairs required closer scrutiny. To these belonged the *economos*, or trustee of church property;² the defender, or attorney;³ the secretary, who recorded and preserved the official records; the *parabolani*, or nurses of the sick; and the *fossores*, or gravediggers.

OTHER ORDERS
AFTER THE
THIRD CEN-
TURY.

We now come to the greater clerical orders. There was a considerable enlargement of the functions of the diaconate. Originally designed for ministration to the needy, it now grew into an important clerical order. The deacon baptized, prepared the bread and wine for the administration of the Lord's Supper, read the gospels and other lessons before the congregation, frequently preached and administered the Lord's Supper to the sick and absent. They were very closely related to the bishop, accompanied him in his visitations, and represented him in such grave deliberative assemblies as synods and councils.⁴ The office of presbyter continued, as in the apostolic period, to conduct the public worship, administer the sacraments, and preach, but in proportion as the pastoral needs developed, and the minor services were performed by subordinates, the functions of the presbyter increased in importance. The most serious change, however, took place in the episcopacy. As early as the year 70, when the Roman Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, we discover no difference between the bishop and the presbyter. But by the early decades of the second century a transition was in progress, the preparation having been made by the Epistles of Ignatius. By the end of the century the consolidation of the episcopate was complete.⁵

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, 6, 43. Full information on these lesser orders will be found in Bingham, book iii, vol. i, pp. 341-423, ed. of 1840.

² Conc. Chalcedon., c. 25.

³ Conc. Carthag., c. 10, also 401. *Cod. Eccles. African.*, c. 75; c. 97, *defensores scholastici*. *Codd. Theod.*, xvi, ii, 28.

⁴ *Apost. Const.*, 2, 44: ἀκοή καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ στόμα, καρδία τε καὶ ψυχὴ ἐπισκόπου. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, lect. ii.

⁵ Ebrard, *Handbuch d. christl. Kirchen- und Dogmen-Geschichte*, i, p. 127; Hatch, *l. c.*; Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 153-209.

The mode of electing bishops varied with the time and place. Originally the congregation, both East and West, elected the bishop, and extended an invitation to the neighboring bishops to consecrate him to his new office.¹ But by the beginning of the third century the election of a bishop was performed by twelve bishops in the adjoining territory, after the manner of the election of an apostle. But this usage passed away by the middle of the century, and the election took place by the votes of all the bishops of the province, in presence of the laity of the society, and by their consent.² The Council of Nicaea gave to the bishops of the province the right of election, without the participation of the laity,³ a mode which found easy and strong favor in the Western Church, where the hierarchical idea was in the ascendant. But in the Eastern Church the laity still exercised their right, not only of veto, but of direct election. The bishop was frequently elected by the acclamation of the multitude, as in the case of Cyprian, without the controlling voice of the clergy, and the other bishops and presbyters were compelled to submit to the dictation. The direction which the popular will might take was often a serious uncertainty, and in some instances laymen were caught up by the multitude and appointed to the episcopacy. It is only just to say, that in such cases the choice was generally a wise one.

The consecration of a bishop, as well as the ordination of presbyters and deacons, was performed by bishops, or by one bishop and presbyters deputed by the people.⁴ The powers of the bishop steadily multiplied. The disposition to regard all ordinations as properly proceeding from him gained force continually. While he was the authority to whom important cases of need and difficulties between members were referred, his power was limited by his dependence upon the cooperation of the presbyters. The clergy of his diocese were the constituency on whom he was constantly dependent. Even Cyprian, the great champion of the episcopate, declared that it was a settled principle with him to do nothing without the cooperation of the presbyters.⁵

¹ Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii, p. 181.

² Cyprian, Ep. 67. Kurtz, Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte, i. p. 174. The fullest treatment is in Haddan, art. "Bishop," in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, an article written from a High Church point of view, but generally accurate as to facts; a treatise in itself.

³ 4th Canon.

⁴ Ordinance of Church of Alexandria. In Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, ii, p. 33. On the presbyterial ordinations of bishops at Alexandria, see Gallagher, The Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1890; Lightfoot, Dissertations, pp. 194-197.

⁵ Works, Ed. Baluz, p. 5. Neander, i, 192.

He calls them *compresbyteros*, copresbyters, a word used also much later.¹ While it was his function to nominate the lower clergy, no preacher could advance from the lowest grade to orders without the approval of the presbyters, whatever might be the private preference of the bishop. No important question of doctrinal variation, or discipline, or general administration, could be determined by the bishop. He must summon the clergy of his diocese, and to them, in the presence of the society, he must submit the question.²

CEPSTRAN'S
PRINCIPLE.

This restriction of the episcopal power throws a strong light on the original autonomy of the individual society. Here, in compact and united form, was the visible Church. The members might be few and obscure, but they were the earthly reflection of the new Jerusalem. The government was vested in the laity, and the spiritual guide, not master, was the presbyter or bishop.³ Tertullian was the spokesman of the universal consciousness of the early Church, which recognized the fact that all the gifts and callings of the ministry rested upon the divine priesthood of all believers. In his work on baptism, written before he became a Montanist, and thus representing, in a sense, the catholic Church, he says: "In itself considered the laity also have the right to administer the sacraments and to teach the community. The word of God and the sacraments were by the grace of God communicated to all, and may therefore be communicated by all Christians as instruments of the divine grace. But the question here relates not barely to what is permitted in general, but also to what is expedient under existing circumstances. We may here use the words of St. Paul, 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.' If we look at the order necessary to be maintained in the Church, the laity are therefore to exercise their priestly right of administering the sacraments only when the time and circumstances require it."⁴ The whole life, as well as the governmental power, of the Church proceeded from these small Christian communities. While the churches in the great commercial and intellectual centers were convulsed by controversy and dissension and by the tempest of constant political changes, the obscure congregations pursued their steady course, and preserved their faith, and fulfilled the high destiny of representing the body of Christ amid the agitations of wasting paganism.

AUTONOMY OF
THE INDIVID-
UAL SOCIETY.

¹ Eps., 14, 45. See Augustine, *Quaest. vet. et nov. test.* (in op., iii, p. 93), Lightfoot, *l. c.*, p. 193.

² Herzog, *Abriß d. gessammt. Kirchengeschichte*, i, 156.

³ Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, ii, p. 131.

⁴ *De Baptismo*, xvii.

The development of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was by natural and easy stages. It comprised the diocese, the metropolitan district, and the patriarchate.

The officer of the Church followed in the footprints of the evangelist. The work of preaching and organizing the society was first in the city. Here were the people, the most rapid currents of thought, and all the most potent forces for extending a great cause into the remoter regions. All the early preachers of Christianity saw the need of building up the first strong societies in the cities, as an initial measure for the occupation of the rural regions. When a church was organized in one part of a city and the number of believers increased, the demand was soon made for a new one in some other quarter. By this means in the larger cities a number of churches arose, but all were related to the mother Church, and were dependent on it. There was great variety in the method of ministerial supply. There was a bishop who had supervision over all the churches, but he was not the source of authority for the appointment of preachers. The arrangement varied according to the locality. In Constantinople, for example, the presbyters of the mother Church served the three filial churches in order. In other cities each society had its own presbyter as ministerial supply, who was subordinate to the bishop. The bishop, with the presbyters of the city, constituted the ministerial council or authority, but in business affecting the interests of the laity the latter were constantly consulted. The suburban districts were not long in adopting the Gospel. People living along all the great highways were frequent visitors to the central city for all the varied purposes of interest, pleasure, or curiosity, and many of them became early hearers of the new doctrines and attached themselves to the original or filial societies in the city.

As the suburban Christian population increased the necessity arose for building churches in its midst, and for dissolving connection with the city. No sooner was toleration granted the Church than many wealthy Christians dwelt in the suburban districts, away from the strife of the city, from precisely the same motives which in our times prompt the more affluent residents of Paris, London, and New York to provide homes, at least for the summer, amid the pure air and calmer life of the country. The churches which were built in the suburban regions were often costly, as might be expected, and they increased in numbers and importance to such an extent as, in frequent instances, to rival their sister societies in the city.

STRONG SOCIETIES BUILT UP IN THE CITIES.

PROMINENCE OF THE SUBURBAN SOCIETY.

These country churches were first called parishes,¹ a term afterward applied also to the city societies in their congregational relation.

Out of this importance of the suburban church arose a new office, the chorepiscopus, or rural bishop, who, while never admitted to be of the same authority as the bishop of the city churches, nevertheless, was not slow to assert his claims lest he be forgotten by the laymen or presbyters of his district. The rural episcopacy became an element of serious disturbance, and greatly conflicted with the unity of the Church in the great centers. In some parts of the Church they were never admitted to be equal in authority with the city bishops. But by analyzing their functions we see but little difference. They could nominate and ordain presbyters, and in their limited territory exercise the same authority as any other bishops. In Africa there does not seem to have existed the least difference between the city and country bishops.²

A strong tendency arose to limit their power. Several of the provincial synods of the fourth century took from the rural bishops the right of nominating the higher clergy of their districts, and made the cooperation of the city bishops a necessity. Finally, the office of chorepiscopus was practically abolished by the Council of Laodicea (340-380), and that of Sardica in 347, where it was ordered that presbyters, subordinate to the city bishop, should be appointed visitors to the suburban churches and sustain a union with the societies of the city. But the office lingered long after this, and did not cease until late in the ninth century.³ The country societies, instead of being independent, became parishes, and were supplied by pastors in the same manner as the filial churches in the city.⁴ The territory over which one bishop was the superintendent was called a diocese,⁵ whether it consisted

THE RURAL
EPISCOPACY.

LIMITATION OF
POWER OF
THE RURAL
EPISCOPACY.

¹ Παροικίας.

² Hase, Hist. of the Christian Church. Ed. Blumenthal and Wing. N. Y. 1872, p. 60.

³ There is a dispute whether the chorepiscopi were in fact presbyters or bishops. "Among the schoolmen and canonists," says Bingham, Antiquities, book ii, chap. xiv, "it is a received opinion that they were only presbyters; as may be seen in Turrian, Estius, Antonius Augustinus, and Gratian, who are followed not only by Salmasius, but by Spalatensis, Field, and Forbes, the last of whom brings several arguments to prove that they were mere presbyters, and never had any episcopal ordination." Although we are inclined to believe with Haddan (art. in Smith and Cheetham) and Bingham that they were bishops, it is by no means certain that they were.

⁴ Planck, Geschichte d. christlichen Gesellschafts-verfassung, pp. 546, ff.

⁵ Διοίκησις. See Hatch, Growth of Church Institutions. Lond. and N. Y., 1897, pp. 9, ff.

of only the churches in the city or comprised as well the outlying rural parishes.

The metropolitan authority was intimately related to the diocese. The word metropolitan does not appear before the Council of Nicaea, but the idea which it represents had been in force from the beginning of the patristic period. The city in which the Gospel had been first preached, and from which it spread into other regions of the province, was the mother city¹ of the Church of the whole territory. The lesser cities of the province received the word from the capital, and were in relation to it as daughters to a mother. The societies in these smaller cities grew in numbers and influence and became dioceses, and yet were related to the maternal church of the capital. Each community had its own government, with an episcopal head, and yet great care was used to preserve the bond of union between the extremities and the central power. In Rome, for example, the original Christian society in Italy existed, but other cities, in time, as Tusculum and Preneste, Tibur and Velitræ, and Ostia and Portus, also grew into important Christian communities, each having a bishop of its own.² The metropolitan bishop had always been regarded with peculiar veneration because of his supposed attachment to the doctrines and usages of the early Church as still preserved in a society of apostolic origin, his opportunity to oversee the needs of the entire province and employ direct measures to relieve them, and his facility of communication with the Church in other parts of the Christian world. To the metropolitan was conceded the right of ordaining the provincial bishops, of convening the provincial synods, of presiding over them, and of subsequently employing measures for the carrying out of the measures ordered at the synodal sessions.³

CENTERS OF

METROPOLITAN AUTHORITY.

The centers of metropolitan authority were Rome, Antioch, Caesarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Corinth. But the Western Church never fully adopted the idea of metropolitan preeminence. The claim of Rome was

¹ *Μήτηρ πόλις*. Hatch, in his *Growth of Church Institutions*, pp. 123, ff., has thrown new light on the metropolitans.

² Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. ii, p. 133.

³ An interesting question as to the authority of metropolitans came up in the prosecution of Bishop King, of Lincoln, for illegal ritualistic practices, in 1889. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, held (see his Judgment in *The Guardian*, May 15, 1889) that he himself had full right to try the case. Others, with better historic ground, argued that the bishops of the province must also be parties in the case. This is argued ably in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Lond., Oct., 1889, art. vii.

larger than to be first among equals. Its early thought was religious mastery, and to this it adhered with a tenacity that was little disturbed by the centuries and frequently defiant. The East, where the political divisions were highly favorable to its development, was the favorite field for carrying out the metropolitan idea.

A still further step in ecclesiastical administration was the patriarchate. The term patriarch had been applied frequently to the bishops, but the Council of Chalcedon limited its application to the few episcopal primates.¹ After Christianity had become the religion of the Roman empire the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople in the fourth century, and Jerusalem in the fifth, were clothed with a power beyond that of the metropolitan. Their spiritual supervision was modeled THE PATRI-
ARCHATE. after Constantine's division of the whole Roman empire. As there were four prefects of the Roman empire, so there should be, as parallel spiritual forces, patriarchs or exarchs for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The functions of the patriarch toward the metropolitan bishops were similar to those of the metropolitans toward the provincial bishops. They consecrated the metropolitans and bishops of their dioceses, summoned the synods of the whole patriarchate, and had supervision over all the ecclesiastical affairs of the territory assigned as their field,² were the court of final clerical appeal, and possessed the right of having legates at foreign courts.³ The patriarchate of Alexandria comprised six provinces, Antioch fifteen, Constantinople twenty-eight, and Jerusalem three. While Rome was, in all essential respects, a patriarchate, the bishop of that city never applied the term patriarch to himself. The word, however, was frequently used in the Western Church as an official title of metropolitans, ordinary bishops, and even the abbots of monasteries.⁴

The clerical officers grew so rapidly in number, and so much authority was concentrated in the highest orders, such as the metropolitans and patriarchs, that the episcopacy GROWTH OF
EPISCOPAL AU-
THORITY. constituted a ministerial aristocracy, and only needed to combine in order to carry out their measures in every part of the Church. Gradually the laity were excluded from the exercise of

¹ Pressel, in Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, ii, 200.

² Guericke, Manual of Church History, Shedd's ed., vol. i, p. 273.

³ Wiltsh. Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 73, f.

⁴ Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons, is called a patriarch by Gregory of Tours, lib. iv, cap. 20. Priscus, Bishop of Lyons, is called by the same title in Sismondi, Conc. Ant. Gall., tom. i, p. 381. The abbot of the Monastery of Monte Cassino was called "patriarch of the Holy Faith." Comp. Bäsching, Erdbeschreibung, iv, 465.

their former rights, even in matters which concerned their interests chiefly.¹ Over against this growing episcopal power there arose the provincial synod, and later the general council, both of which represented the will of the Church. Whatever influence the bishop might exert in the regular exercise of his office, and whatever decisions he might feel empowered to make, he was compelled in the synod or council to accord to the body its rights.

The synod, as with other administrative regulations of the Church, was an imitation of the Greek provincial bodies under Roman rule, where, in the capital of the province, the representatives of the people met in council, under the presidency of the proconsul, and transacted such business as was needful. From a remote time these synodal meetings² had been held in Asia Minor, and, indeed, traces can be discovered in the deliberative meetings of the Ionian, Achaian, Doric, and other confederations. The Amphictyonic Council was only a type of the later ecclesiastical synod. When the Romans conquered Greece the yet remaining traces of the old confederations passed away, and in their place the land was divided into provinces, or the old provincial outlines remained, and each province was provided with its local government. This political regulation was the basis of the synodal representation. The federal spirit of the Greek infused itself into the government of the Church, but as a reaction against monarchical ideas.³ During the persecutions there was no opportunity for the development of this popular body, but under the reign of Commodus, and during the seventy years of comparative peace, terminating with the reign of Decius, the synodal idea could take form. The first occasion on which the synod was employed was when one was called, in Asia Minor, to aid in the suppression of Montanism. Another was convened to decide on the Easter festival; and from these beginnings the synod became an acknowledged institution of the Church, in some regions having the fixed regularity of annual assemblies.

By the early part of the third century the synodal meeting had extended beyond Asia Minor and Greece, and was a recognized department of ecclesiastical administration in every part of the Christian world.⁴ In North Africa they became a part of the regular

¹ On the influences at play to change the relation of clergy and laity, see Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 143, ff. ² *Koivn̄c c̄iv̄oc̄*.

³ Lechler, art. "Synoden," in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, Bd. 15, p. 377. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i, 365-237. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 169, 170.

⁴ Tertul., *De Jejun.*, cap. 13. Kurtz, *Handbuch d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte*, i, pp. 177, f.

THE SYNOD A
GREEK IMITA-
TION.

ecclesiastical economy, and were of great force during the Novatian controversy. The controversy on the proper treatment of heretics being the most heated one of this period, the synod was a frequent method of resort, which the bishop was slow to convene unless he was sure that the conclusion would support his position. There was great variety in the delegation composing the synod. At first the laity had no little influence. It was the popular Christian deliberative meeting, and the sessions were often of the old tumultuous Greek character, where few questions were asked as to membership. It was often a question of numbers and voice. The proprieties sank beneath the wave of a popular tempest. In Cyprian's day the synodal delegates consisted of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the province. But the laity, or general Christian society, were also present, and gave their consent to the action of the body.¹ When the Council of Nicaea assembled, which, in many respects, curtailed the power of the laity and lower clergy and strengthened the authority of the bishops, it was determined that only the bishops could vote in the provincial synod. But the people long continued, especially in the Eastern Church, to find strong ways of expressing their will, and even of carrying it into execution.

THE SYNOD
GENERALLY
ADOPTED.

As a further proof of the connectional and representative character of the synod it took prompt measures to communicate its conclusions to other synods. The synodical epistles of this period, sent to distant societies, constitute a peculiar literature in themselves. Sometimes they found favor in other parts of the province, but often were coldly received, if not violently opposed. They generally began with a claim to divine illumination in reaching the conclusion, as in the case of the Carthaginian synod of the year 252, when Cyprian reported to the bishop, Cornelius of Rome, that the Lord had directed by indubitable signs.²

THE SYNODICAL
EPISTLES.

Out of the local synod or council grew the ecumenical council or synod, representing the entire Church. The synods continued to be held, for the regulation of the provincial churches, after the custom of holding general councils arose; but their power was greatly diminished by the latter,

THE COUNCIL.

¹ Opera, Sententia episcoporum 87 de hæreticis baptiz.: Cum in unum Carthaginî convenissent episcopi plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, cum presbyteris et diaconibus, præsentē etiam plebis maxima parte.

² Placuit nobis sancto Spiritu suggerente et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente.

while the popular interest that formerly attached to them was now transferred to the council.¹

The most remarkable feature of the government of the Church consisted in the growing power of the Roman bishop. Many things conspired to give prestige to the Church in Rome. The society in that city had always been conservative in doctrine. Dissatisfied and innovating teachers drifted thither from every part of the Christian world, and sought a following. Whenever an ambitious member was expelled in any part of Christendom it was not long before he was met in the streets of Rome. Amid all the temptations to accept doctrinal and administrative changes the general body of Roman Christians had remained firm to the early faith, of which they had been the leading representatives, as the greatest apostolic Church, since the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of that city. The views of the Roman Church on the Easter festival and the baptism of heretics had not only been carefully matured, but had met the approval of the outlying region. There was general confidence in the attitude which that society might assume toward all new measures from whatever quarter they might come. The old commendation of Paul, that the faith of the Roman society "had been spoken of throughout the whole world,"² had not been forfeited during the years of trial.

To this doctrinal steadfastness must be connected the celebrity of that society in practical Christianity, and especially in the giving of alms. Not only were the poor of the metropolis tenderly cared for, but the poor and persecuted in the provinces to the north and west were aided with readiness. In those days the remote Christians were in constant need of help, and their representatives gravitated naturally to Rome, where a cordial reception was given to them, if properly accredited, and they returned with prompt and ample help. The strong hand of the Roman society was felt in all the distant societies.³

Another great factor in giving prominence to the Roman society was its supposed relationship to the labors of the apostles Paul and Peter. That Paul was known, on scriptural authority, to have lived there as a prisoner and, probably, to have suffered martyrdom there, seems to have been less valued as a precious historical tradition

¹ An excellent chapter on the origin and development of councils, and their place in the ecclesiastical system, is in Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 169, ff.

² Rom. i, 8.

³ Schaff gives very satisfactory summary of the reasons for growth of the pre-eminence of Rome, vol. ii, pp. 156, 157.

than the slender legend of Peter's residence there. The certain Paul was less valued than the uncertain Peter. Not from Paul, but from Peter, did Clement claim to have received his episcopate. This tradition gained strength steadily. In the official documents, and in the writings of the Roman bishops, the reminders are repeated that Peter founded the Roman Church, and that it alone of all the Christian societies had the distinction of having two apostolic founders. But the first century passed away and a part of the second before any claim to primacy was made by the Roman bishop. Even as late as the time of Hippolytus the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome did not extend over the adjacent territory in southern Italy, central Italy as far east as the Apennines, and as far north as the northern line of Tuscany. The Roman Church was strictly Roman. It had not as yet attained Italian dimensions, and much less to primacy over Latin or universal Christendom.¹ But there was a disposition to accord to the Roman bishop a certain recognition which was denied all others. Tertullian appealed to Western Christians, if they would know what the true apostolic doctrine is, to learn of Rome, "which can be an authority to us [Africans]."² This admonition was enforced by the usual appeal to the apostolical origin of the Roman society, but with the added glory of Peter's and Paul's martyrdom, in the same city. Irenæus spoke in the same strain, saying that as the Church of Rome had been founded by two apostles, and was the scene of their martyrdom, as Christians thronged to the metropolis from every part of the world and compared views, so Rome was more likely than any other place to possess the real apostolic tradition and to be the most correct reproduction of the apostolic purity and simplicity of life.³

From the middle of the second century the claims of Roman primacy were repeated with more force and frequency. During this time the Clementine Recognitions appeared, which contained the first direct authority for the Roman bishop as the constitutional primate of the Christian world. In the early decades of the third century the view was so far strengthened by the orthodox revision of the Recognitions that we find the papal idea presented with great force; but yet with a measure of caution. Cyprian, although in

GROWTH OF
THE ROMAN
PRIMACY AFTER
MIDDLE OF
SECOND CENTURY.

¹ Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii, p. 133.

² Unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. De Præscriptione Hæreticorum, xxxvi.

³ Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorum principalitatem necesse est convenire omnem ecclesiam, h. e., eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea, quæ est ab apostolis traditio, 3, 3.

serious collision with Rome on the treatment of heretics, contributed largely toward the growth of the Roman primacy. His work on the unity of the Church was a strong argument in favor of the concentration of ecclesiastical power, and, without intention on his part, was of great influence in securing primacy to Rome.¹

On the abstract question of the claim of the Roman bishop, as the successor of Peter, to ecclesiastical supremacy, Cyprian spoke in stern rebuke. That any bishop should place himself above his associates was with him a violation of the very idea of ecclesiastical unity. With the episcopacy, as with the Church, there must be unity. The episcopacy is a unit, which is firmly held together by its parts.² Christ alone is Lord over all.³ He who lays claim to episcopal predominance makes an insolent and arrogant assumption. Some of the episcopal incumbents in these later days make this very pretension, and, in doing it, violate the example of Peter himself.⁴ Cyprian was careful, in addressing the Roman bishop, to call him colleague and brother,⁵ and by no term that would mark a disparity of episcopal dignity. Origen, who heard the claim for Roman preponderance based upon the Petrine foundation, expressed the intense love of equality and justice that underlay the Greek spirit, both pagan and Christian, when with keen logic he cried aloud, "Be it so!" But if Peter is the only one on whom the Church is built, what becomes of John and the other apostles? Is Peter, forsooth, the only one against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail?

But in spite of Irenæus, Cyprian, and the general disposition of

¹ Cyprian's ideas of Church unity have been the subject of frequent controversy and investigation, as by Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, pp. 550-711; Huther, *Cyprian's Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche*, Hamb., 1839; Peters, *Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche*, Luxemb., 1879; Reinkens, *Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche*, Würzburg, 1878. Nevin contributed a powerful series of articles on the same subject in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1852; see reply by Varian in same *Review*, 1853, pp. 555, ff. Cyprian's Church system was subjected to an acute examination by Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht Ritschl, *Cyprian von Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche*, Göttingen, 1885.

² *Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* Epist. 55 (ed. Gersd.), cap. 20.

³ *Sed respectemus universi iudicium Dei nostri Jesu Christi, qui nunc et solus habet potestatem et preponendi nos in ecclesie sue gubernatione et de actione nostra iudicandi.* Ep. 71.

⁴ *Nec Petrus . . . cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptant, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut deceret se primatum tenere et obtemperaria novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere.* Ep. 71.

⁵ *Frater-collega.* Ebrard, *Handbuch der christlichen Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, i, 131.

the Church, the current of events was toward a consolidation of the Roman episcopate as the center of all official authority. Each new bishop was true to the traditions which belonged to his diocese, and whenever a new measure came up for discussion in any part of the Christian horizon the Roman claimed the right of final decision. Zephyrinus held that he alone should be arbiter on the discipline of penitents; Victor assumed the same right on the Easter controversy; and Stephen asserted a similar claim on the baptism of heretics. Every voice that came into Rome was in favor of the equality of all bishops, while every voice that went out from it was a plea for the primacy of the Roman bishop. At the Council of Nicaea the patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were ranked as first, second, and third respectively. At the general Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, Constantinople was placed in the second place, and Rome was acknowledged as having the precedence, not because the pope was constituted by Christ the ruler of Christendom, but "because it was the imperial city."¹ This famous canon has been a stumbling-block to Rome. The papal legates refused to vote for it, and their protests were recorded, but the council passed it. Pope Leo I rejected it.² The great resisting force lay in the Eastern Church. Antioch, which was one of the largest and most influential of the Eastern patriarchates, was constantly opposed to the Roman claim.

IN SPITE OF
OPPOSITION
ROME'S PRIMA-
CY STEADILY
GREW.

THE EASTERN
CHURCH AL-
WAYS A RE-
SISTING FORCE.

But the East was little calculated to resist Rome. In the Augustan days, when a great heroic character, who had risen above the horizon in the East, was talked of along the Forum Romanum or amid the luxuriant ease of the gardens of the nobility, the complaisant limitation was always made that the East was only provincial, or that nothing out of Rome was cosmopolitan. So, in the third century of Christianity, the Roman Christians claimed for their society all the dignity and authority of apostolic precedence, and for their bishop that spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy to which the whole West was compelled to submit. The near Church of Carthage, the cultivated society of Alexandria, and the original, acute, and aggressive Christians of Antioch were regarded by their Roman brethren as only provincial, and therefore on the same level with Firmilian, the obscure bishop of

THE EASTERN
CHURCH UNA-
BLE TO STEM
THE TIDE.

¹ Canon 28.

² See Church Quarterly Review, Lond., Oct., 1889, pp. 131-133; Fulton, Index Canonum, 3d ed., 1892, pp. 74-76, note; Bright, Hist. of the Church, pp. 313-451; Littledale, Plain Reasons, pp. 172, 173, note; Hefele, Hist. of Councils, iii, 428. Otherwise, the council recognized St. Peter's connection with Rome.

the Cappadocian Casarea, who dared to charge Stephen of Rome with boasting of his episcopal superiority.¹

The presence of the court in Constantinople, which was now the new Rome, was not helpful to the spiritual development or wise administration of the Eastern Church. It was a region of intrigue and revolution. The Turkey of our times, with its plots and counterplots, and its moral corruption, is only a modern reflection of the empire which centered in the city of Constantine. The members of the court frequently took part in the theological controversies, and the wrangle of schismatics was transferred to the homes of the nobility and even to the palace of the emperor. It was a place and time of unrest. As in the Bosphorus one sees the tumultuous flow of the northern into the southern waters, so beside its banks could be seen the meeting of all the conflicting thoughts that agitated the entire Eastern Church. There was no hour of calm and steady spiritual life. Between Alexandria and the new metropolis there was no friendly feeling. The great city of Alexander had known only one competitor, and that was Rome, but now that Byzantium, which had been subordinate even to Heraclea, the capital of Thrace, was transformed into a vast capital, and the home of the Roman emperor, the feeling in the North African city was anything but generous and Christian. The agitation of the Church around the shores of the eastern half of the Mediterranean was now becoming so serious as to retard important missionary operations and to threaten the general unity.

In the West the life was more steady. The heresies arose in the east, and, like a never-changing tide, flowed directly to Rome, where they were either suppressed or diverted.²

STEADY LIFE
OF THE ROMAN
CHURCH.

The life of the Roman Church had the equipoise of power and conviction. It was willing to accept what came to it, and not search the world for new ideas. It was willing to grow and absorb, but possessed neither the wish nor the talent for invention. It was willing to wait, but not to look back, except to gather up supporting tradition for a steadier and farther march into the future.

¹ Stephanus, qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri habere contendit, Cypr., Epist. 75. So far as autocratic ambition explains the growth of Roman power—and it does not explain it—that must be credited to the Roman Church as a whole. The Roman bishops of the first two centuries were insignificant. As Newman says: "The See of Rome possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution. Afterward for a long time it had not a single doctor to show." *Apologia pro Sua Vita*, p. 238 (N. Y. ed.), p. 407 (Lond. ed.). See Schaff, *Church History*, ii, pp. 162, 163.

² Neander, *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. ii, p. 171.

CHAPTER XIX.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

THE discipline of the Church was originally very simple and confined to a few general rules. But as Christianity developed and grew into closer relationship with the general life of the world the process by which the transition was made from the temporal and pagan career to membership in the Church became more a matter of form and order. When Christianity began, and during the entire apostolic period, this transition was abrupt, and the formality of reception into the Church was a thing of a moment. The immediate reception into the Church of the converts at Pentecost was a type of the promptness with which large bodies of Christians were inducted into all the sanctities of Christian discipleship.¹ It was an age of miracle and sudden spiritual revolution. To train the child into the man was the later task of the Christian teacher. Paul's epistles abound in evidences of the immaturity of members of the Church, and some of the most serious dangers which threatened the Church in his day, and founded by his ministry, came from the want of proper and needful training of the members. Miracles, such as the gift of tongues, might produce a great number of conversions; but no miracle could compensate for the previous absence of Christian knowledge.

QUICK PROCESS
OF INTRO-
DUCTION INTO THE
CHURCH IN
FIRST PERIOD.

In the later period, when miraculous displays had entirely disappeared, the process of becoming a member of the Church, and, in case of apostasy, of returning to the Church, was more deliberate, and based upon a firmer and broader Christian knowledge. Much of the edification which in the early Church took place after formal connection with the Christian communion was carefully attended to in the patristic period before the public union with the Church. The Church had learned the value of deliberate and thorough training. When Christianity found a new man who had just laid off his paganism for the new faith, or, as the phrase of the time went, had "laid off the toga for the pallium," the candidate for the new life and the heavenly re-

THE LATER
DELIBERA-
TION.

¹ Comp. "The Open Door of the Church" in The Simplicity that is in Christ. Sermons by L. W. Bacon, N. Y., 1896, pp. 29-47.

ward was a complete blank. His ancestry, through all the generations, had been polytheistic. His own training and associations had never touched Christianity at any point. He had everything to learn. It was a wise measure, brought into use in this period, that when a man was elected a bishop he should give proof, by a public exercise, that he was possessed of sufficient Christian knowledge to administer the affairs of the Church with a skillful hand.

To meet this want of previous training, so that the church member might be able at once to lead a safe and strong life in fellowship with the Church, and to become a source of strength to the general body of believers, great care was taken with the catechumen. He was required to pass through a thorough discipline in Christian knowledge, though the time required for it varied with the country and the period. For some time no regular termination of the catechumenate was decided, large freedom being left to the particular church or the judgment of the episcopal patriarch and the provincial synod. Immediately on professing faith in Christ the preparation for baptism and uniting with the Church began. The fathers urged, with great energy, that no time be lost in this important matter, lest the old pagan life reappear, and there be a shipwreck of faith. The apostles baptized immediately on the profession of Christ, but the Church of the patristic period made the careful training of the candidate for church membership the substitute for immediate baptism.¹

There were three classes of catechumens—the hearers, the kneelers, and the candidates.² The hearers were permitted access to only the general services. They were allowed to hear the reading of the Scripture lessons and the sermon, but could not remain to partici-

¹ Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 2d ed., Regensburg, 1843, i, 242, ff.

² The ἀκούοντες, hearers; γονυκλίοντες, kneelers; βαπτίζοντες, seekers, or immediate candidates for baptism. Bingham makes four classes of catechumens, and bases the fourth order on a canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea: "If any catechumen who enters the Church, and stands amongst any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin, if he be a kneeler, let him become a hearer, provided he sin no more: but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the Church." This fourth order, according to him, consists of those who were instructed before they entered the Church at all. His proof is not strong enough. This fourth order seems to be an incident, by way of penalty, rather than a regular class of catechumens. See Bingham, *Works* (Lond. ed., 1848), vol. iii, pp. 272, f. Rothe makes but three classes. See *De Discipline Arcani Origine*, p. 13. Schaff says there were two classes, ii, p. 256. As Plumptre says, in Smith and Cheetham, i, p. 317, there was not strict uniformity in all sections of the Church.

pate in the prayers, and were formally dismissed at the close of the sermon by the words, "Let no hearer be present."¹ The kneelers, or prostrators, could not only hear the Scripture readings and the sermon, but remain afterward, and be present at the prayer of the imposition of hands,² or prayer for the special benefit of the catechumens.³ Petitioners, or elect, constituted the most advanced class.⁴ They had all the privileges of worship granted the two lower grades, but enjoyed the additional advantage of the bishop's special prayer for those about to be illuminated or baptized.⁵ Their application was for baptism at the next public opportunity, which, in this period, was generally on Easter Sunday, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, or on Whitsunday, in memory of the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost. When the petition was accepted the names of the candidate and his sponsors were recorded in the diptych, or register.⁶ After the registry there was careful examination, or "scrutiny," which covered a period of twenty days. The prayers of exorcism were performed during the same time, so that the three "fiery" exercises of catechizing, examination, and exorcism were combined as the last needful and solemn preparations for baptism and formal membership in the Church.⁷

THREE CLASSES
OF THE CATE-
CHUMENS.

With these exercises were united, for the twenty days preceding baptism, the further discipline of fasting, of learning the creed in use at the time, and, if not already learned, the Lord's Prayer. When the public baptism took place the enrollment of the catechumen, whose term of discipline had now expired, was now made among the members of the Church, and he was admitted to the eucharist and all other privileges of the Church. The time which elapsed between the beginning of the catechumenate and its completion varied in different times

THE PUBLIC
BAPTISM.

¹ Ne quis audientium. For this order see Constitutt. Apostol., lib. viii, cap. 5 (Labbe, vol. i, p. 464, f.).

² Oratio impositionis manuum.

³ Κατηχουμένων εἰρήνη.

⁴ Called *Competentes*, or *Petitioners*, because they had petitioned the bishop for baptism.

⁵ βαπτισμένων, or φωτισμένων εἰρήνη. Comp. Bingham, vol. iii, p. 275. Funk maintains that there was only one class of catechumens, and that the φωτισμένοι, or *competentes* were reckoned among the faithful. But the ancient Church was much given to making arbitrary and refined distinctions among both the clergy and laity. Die Katechumenats-lassen des christl. Alterthums, in Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift, 1883, pp. 41-77.

⁶ Διπτυχάζοντων.

⁷ Augustine, in Psalm lxx. Et in sacramentis et in catechizando et in exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. . . . Post ignem autem exorcismi venit ad baptismum, ut ab igne ad aquam, ab aqua in refrigerium.

and places. The more rigorous view prevailed at the beginning of the period of persecution, but toward the close of it there was a manifest disposition to abridge the time. The Apostolical Constitutions fixed three years as the needful period, while, according to the synod of Elvira, two years were defined as the proper limit. The synod of Agde shortened this period to eight months.¹

The treatment of apostates, or the fallen, was a far more complicated discipline than the care of the candidates for membership.

TREATMENT OF PENITENT APOSTATES. It was a period when the temptations to apostasy were great, and when great harm to the Church was caused by a single defection. Christianity had not gained its full recognition. It had its serious doubters, and whenever a member proved false to it the disaster was justly regarded as of grave and far-reaching character. No forbearance or patience was shown toward one who manifested an unrepentant spirit. His act of infidelity to the Church was held to be a crime against the visible body of Christ, for which only the most public and immediate punishment of expulsion was a moderate penalty. Toward apostates who exhibited a penitent spirit, and wished to return to the Church, there was also a severe and rigorous attitude in every part of the Church, both Eastern and Western.

The proper treatment of apostates was not only the ground of the most violent controversy of this whole period, but it developed the most elaborate and complicated department of the discipline of the Church. The Church was not divided into mild and severe tendencies. Compared with the later times, and with our own days, all the views were severe and harsh in the extreme, and the difference in them was only that of degree. The penitent, however deep his contrition, had no hope of an early restoration. He had violated his pledges and brought shame upon Christianity in the presence of its violent adversaries, and he knew that the ordeal of return would be long and intricate. In some portions of the period of the predominance of this severer view of apostasy, the time of penitence, before full restoration could take place, lasted many years. In others, where men about to suffer martyrdom commended penitents to the mercy of the Church, the period was much shorter. In the African Church a great mass of apostates secured letters of peace from men suffering

¹ Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i. 243, ff. See also Mayer, *Geschichte des Katechumenats und der Katechese in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten*, Kempten, 1866; Weiss, A., *Die alt-kirchliche Pädagogik dargestellt in Katechumenat und Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrhunderten*, Freiburg, 1869; Bingham, book i.

martyrdom, and with these as authority they boldly demanded admission to the Church, without any repentance or going through any of the stages for return. One man, Lucian, boldly declared, on behalf of himself and other confessors, that he had granted peace to all apostates in North Africa, and had declared their sins absolved, and Cyprian, in a weak moment, cried aloud that the Church must, forsooth, keep peace with the martyrs.¹

There were two classes of sins, the venial and the mortal, and the stages of penitence were determined by the gravity of the offense and the thoroughness of the repentance. In the East more mildness was shown toward penitents than in the West, with the single exception of Rome. In North Africa and Spain those who had been guilty of adultery, murder, and other mortal sins could never be fully restored to the privileges of Church membership. When a penitent suffered martyrdom the triumphant mode of his death was regarded as equivalent to a completion of his penitential life.

The classification of penitents occurred about the middle of the third century.² Of the hearers, as a distinct order of penitents, we have no knowledge until the time of the Novatian schism. When the discipline of the Church for penitents was fully developed, which was in the latter half of the third century, there were four classes. The mourners were not permitted to enter the church. Clothed in coarse and ragged attire, and covered with ashes, they cast themselves down upon the ground, in front of the church, and implored the passing presbyters and members to have compassion upon them, and pray to heaven for their forgiveness.³ When Eusebius, a sophist who had apostatized under Julian, wished to return to the Church in the reign of Jovian, his first step was to approach the church, and, falling upon his face, he cried out, "Tread me under foot, as salt without savor."⁴ The mourner was simply a petitioner for mercy, an applicant for the privilege of further penitential discipline. When his request was granted he was elevated to the rank of a hearer. He might now enter the church, but must remain in the part nearest the door.⁵ He could listen to the Scripture readings and the sermon, but was dismissed, with the catechumens of

VENIAL AND
MORTAL SINS.

CLASSIFICA-
TION OF
PENITENTS.

¹ Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i, p. 294.

² Cardinal Bona. *De Reb. Liturgic.* (Antwerp), lib. i, cap. xvii, § iii.

³ Tertullian, *De Pœnit.*, cap. ix.

⁴ Bingham, *Works*, vol. vi, p. 448. See also the case of Natalis, who prostrated himself at the feet of the bishop Zephyrinus, p. 449.

⁵ Gregor. Thaumaturgus, cap. xi (Labbe, vol. i, p. 841).

the same class, immediately after the sermon. Having continued a satisfactory period in this class, the hearer became a kneeler. He could now advance up the nave of the church and take his place near the ambo or reading desk and hear the sermon, and have the benefit of the special prayers for penitents after the sermon.¹

The final class of penitents consisted of the costanders. They could now proceed farther up the nave of the church, stand before the altar with those who had never forfeited their right of membership, and join in all the prayers of the public service. They had the privilege of witnessing the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but were not permitted, until fully restored, to participate in its observance. During this entire period of discipline every penitent was required to give practical proof of sincerity by abstaining from diversions of every kind, by observing all the public fasts of the Church, by giving liberally toward the support of the poor, and by assisting in burying the dead.² Having completed this course, remaining in each class at least one year, and often more, in proportion to the gravity of the offense, the penitent was publicly restored to membership; at the altar, during the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by the prayer of absolution and reconciliation, and by the imposition of hands by the bishop, as a necessity, and by the presbyter and deacon as a matter of usage.

After the Decian persecution and the Novatian schism a special presbyter was appointed, more largely in the Eastern than the Western Churches, to supervise the penitents during all the stages of their restoration and in this respect to do much of the work formerly performed by the bishop. He was called the penitential presbyter,³ and it was his office to give instruction to the penitent, to see that the order of the Church was faithfully carried out, that the bishop was duly notified of the progress made by the penitent, and that a time was fixed for public restoration. This early officer in the Church has been wrongly supposed to be the warrant for the modern confessional. The penitential presbyter, on the contrary, had none of the functions of the confessor. His duty was to hear and advise, but in no case to receive private confession, or order penance, or grant absolution, apart from public discipline.⁴ He was the representative of the Church, to give private instruction, and to see that

PROOF OF SINCERITY MUST BE GIVEN DURING PERIOD OF PENITENCE.

PRESBYTER APPOINTED FOR SPECIAL CARE OF PENITENTS.

¹ For the forms of these prayers, see Bingham, Works, vol. iv, pp. 634, ff.

² Bingham, Works, vol. vi, pp. 447 ff.

³ Πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετάνοιαις, or, Presbyter Pœnitentiarius.

⁴ Bingham, Works, vol. vi, p. 492 (book xviii, ch. iii, §§ 11, 12).

the public law was observed by the individual penitent. He could in no case hear confession, with a view to obtaining divine favor, but only to meet his obligations to the Church.¹ For various reasons, probably because the committing of the penitents to the care of any one presbyter might have a disintegrating force in the society, the office of penitential presbyter was abolished in Constantinople in the year 390. From this, as a beginning, the Church gradually ceased to make use of it, until the later revival of it, in a corrupted form, in the institution of the confessional.²

¹ Coleman, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*. Andover, 1841, p. 846.

² See Hooker, *Ecc. Polit.*, book vi, ch. iv, §§ 8-12, in *Works*, ed. Keble, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 41-58; Smith and Cheetham, *art. Penitentiary*.

CHAPTER XX.

SACRED SEASONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE festal cycle of the patristic period was of tardy development, and each fixed addition was achieved after heated discussion. The Christians who had entered the Church from paganism brought with them no sympathies with festivals of any kind. Their alienation from the old faith was complete. But with the Christians who had been Jews the case was entirely different. He was a wise man who knew just when and where the Jew ceased and the Christian began. Whatever change of nature may have taken place, the Jewish Christian was very slow to renounce the sacred memories of his early faith. He had still his Scriptures, and why might not his former faith, at least its liturgical and festal department, be still in large measure retained? The pagan Christian at once admitted the festal and sacred seasons, but was not willing to accept dictation from his Jewish brother as to the duration and definition of them.

There were two classes of sacred and festal days, the weekly and the yearly. The assembling for worship on the first day, in memory of the resurrection of our Lord, began in the apostolic times, but afterward became definite and universal. The Jewish Christians worshiped on both the seventh and the first days, thus accommodating themselves both to their former faith and to the now rapidly growing use of the first day as the real Sabbath. The pagan Christian never used the Jewish Sabbath, but regarded it as abrogated by their adoption of the first day, which was of higher significance and a more joyful memory. Barnabas, Ignatius,¹ and Justin² furnish positive proof of the substitution of the first for the seventh day, and give the full reasons for the change. "Therefore," says Barnabas, "we spend the first day in joy, for on this day our Lord rose from the dead."³

¹ Ad Magnesios, cap. ix.

² Apologia i, cap. 67. See also Dial. c. Tryph., 12, 19, 27.

³ Cap. 15. This epistle was not written by Barnabas, the companion of Paul. "To-day we kept the Lord's day holy, in which we read your letter," says Dionysius of Corinth, A. D. 170. Eusebius, H. E., iv, 23. The best discussion of the ecclesiastical and historical aspects of Sunday is Hesse, Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligation, Bampton Lectures for 1860.

Fasting, with all other signs of sorrow, was not regarded as an essential part of the observance of the day. Its hours were to pass in holy exercises, of which joy was to be the chief element, because of the great gift to the world of our Lord's resurrection. All labor was to cease; no mental anxiety was regarded as proper. It was the Lord's Day, the eighth day, the day of the sun.¹

Two other days were likewise regarded as more than secular, and were used as reminders of the culminating scenes in the life of Christ. On Wednesday and Friday the Christians of this period met for worship, not of the joyful type of the Sunday service, but simpler, and closing at three in the afternoon, and connected with fasting and penitential exercises. The Wednesday service was in commemoration of the Jewish council for the arrest of our Lord, while the Friday service was in memory of his death. These days, the fourth and sixth of the week, were called days of stations, a military term, as a reminder that the Christian is a soldier, and must be on his guard against the enemies of Christ.²

TWO OTHER
DAYS MORE
THAN SEC-
ULAR.

The yearly festivals were Christian adaptations to the Jewish festivals. They were a continuation of the great annual days which recalled the most signal events in the history of the Hebrew people, but with the new sacred associations that grew out of the redeeming work of Christ. The most important was the passover. First, signifying the festal commemoration of the sparing of the firstborn in Egypt,³ and, in the Christian sense, the memorial celebration of the death of Christ, it became a source of serious and lengthy controversy. The Eastern Christians, following the example of the Jewish Christians, took the fourteenth day after the new moon as the day when the great fast should cease and the paschal meal be taken, while the Christians

THE YEARLY
FESTIVALS.

5th ed., enlarged, Lond., 1889. Zahn, in *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, Erlangen, 1895, expresses the sentiments of scholars when he says that the primitive Church "never thought of regarding Sunday as the continuation of the Jewish Sabbath, and never called it Sabbath," but uniformly celebrated it as a day of joy, as the weekly recurrence of the festival of the resurrection of Christ. See also Schaaf, last ed., ii, 201-204; Neander, i, 293-297, *Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, ed. Robinson, pp. 158-160; and especially Hotham, in Smith and Cheetham, art. Lord's Day.

¹ That the term Sunday is not derived from a heathen word, but has its origin in the usage of the early Church, we may refer to Justin, *Apol.* i, cap. 67, where it is called "the day of the sun"—*ἡ ἡμέρα ἡλίου*. See also Tertul., *Apol.*, cap. 16.

² Tertullian says: *Statio de militari nomen accepit, nam et militia dei sumus. De Orat.*, cap. 19. Comp. Herzog. *Abriss der gesamten Kirchengeschichte*, i, pp. 188, ff.

³ *Exod.* xii, 27.

in the West fasted until Sunday. The question of fasting a few hours divided the entire Church. Synods were called, each to promote an interest, through the territory extending from Gaul to Pontus. These synods declared uniformly for the longer time. The Eastern Christians were less organized, and had the disadvantage of being quoted as sympathizers with ancient Judaism. Their view was rejected, and throughout the Western Church there was uniformity, with a growing indorsement of the longer time in the Eastern Church. The Roman Bishop Victor refused to acknowledge as Christians all who sympathized with the Eastern view, and excommunicated them.¹ They now became a recognized class of schismatics, known as the Quartodecimani. Their principal home was in Asia Minor and proconsular Africa.

Pentecost, one of the three great festal days of the Jews, was likewise transferred to the Christian Church. While its former significance remained, combining a thankful commemoration of harvest and the gift of the law on Sinai, in the new Christian calendar it was a commemoration of the outpouring of the Spirit after the ascension of our Lord. Epiphany became a holy day in the Christian calendar in the latter half of the fourth century. The first definite trace we have of its observance is in the year 360. The Christmas celebration does not appear to have been thought of, either in the Eastern or Western part of the Church.²

The reverence in which the martyrs were held led to an undue attachment to the scene and day of their death. By a happy thought the day of a martyr's death was called his birthday.³ The places where the martyrs had died were regarded with a holy awe. Processions, in more peaceful times, were made to them, churches were erected in memory of them, and the days on which they suffered martyrdom were added to the sacred memorials of the Church. On the anniversary days the services in the church located within the sphere of influence of a martyr were largely devoted to recalling his services and character.

¹ For this wanton exercise of usurped prerogative the Eastern bishops, and even Irenæus, in the name of the Christians in Gaul, rebuked Victor. See Eusebius, H. E., v, 24.

² Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, i, 21, says that some had calculated the date of Christ's birth, but he does not say that it was observed, although he does say, in the same passage, that the followers of Basilides "hold the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the night before in readings." In the fourth or fifth centuries, however, Christmas was widely observed, not so much as the day of Christ's birth, as the day on which God manifested his divinity among men.

³ ἡμεῖρα γενέθλιος.

Whatever view was held by a teacher as to the existence of an intermediate state of the dead, the martyr was never regarded as having any need of a purifying process. His death blotted out his sins. It was the baptism of blood,¹ and, in case the ecclesiastical baptism had not been administered, it served as an ample substitute for it. His bliss was not to be postponed. None doubted that his crown would be given him immediately after ascending from the battlefields of earth.

On the memorial days of martyrs the Lord's Supper was celebrated with a view to continued fellowship with them, and until Augustine's day prayer was offered for them.² It was called an oblation, or sacrifice, for martyrs,³ and, with this term in frequent use, and with the lofty panegyrics on the martyrs, and the lengthy services in memory of them, it need occasion no surprise that both Jews and pagans should charge the Christians with elevating them to a rank equal to Christ.

THE LORD'S
SUPPER ON
MEMORIAL
DAYS.

The extreme reverence for a martyr's memory was nowhere more clearly seen, at this early day, than in the conduct of the Smyrna Christians in relation to the death of their local bishop, Polycarp. Probably because of the criticism of enemies the society of that city wrote a circular epistle in explanation of their conduct, in which they said: "We pray to Christ as the Son of God, but we love the martyrs because of their unsurpassable love of their Lord, and we wish to be, in this respect, their companions and fellow-disciples. . . . We took his [Polycarp's] bones, which are more precious than silver and gold, and deposited them in a fitting place. God will grant that we gather them together, in joy and thanksgiving, and celebrate the birthday festival of his martyrdom, in memory of the departed soldiers, and for the discipline and equipment of those who are still engaged in the conflict."⁴

IN MEMORY OF
POLYCARP.

It must be remembered, however, that these memorial services were no part of the general order of the Church. They grew out of the fame and merit of the servant of the Church who had suffered martyrdom sooner than renounce his Christianity. The disposition to preserve the memory of such a career was natural, and, in some cases, adapted to promote the heroic Christian life in a

¹ Herzog, *Abriß der gesammten Kirchengeschichte*, i. pp. 193 f.

² *Oblationes pro defunctis annua die facimus*. Tertull. *De Coron.* On the universal custom of prayers for the dead in the ancient Church, see Luckock, *After Death*, Lond., 3d ed., 1881; Lee, *Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed*, Lond., 1872, new ed., with copious notes and appendices, 1875; Schaff, new ed., ii, 603-606.

³ *Sacrificium pro martyribus*.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, 4, 15.

time when firmness was most needed. The pagan life abounded in reminders of departed leaders in every field of thought and activity. The public squares, the larger buildings, the homes, the temples, the great streets, the country highways, presented busts and colossal statues of the greatest characters, carved in the highest art, and crowned on their anniversary days with laurel, and honored by the march of great processions and memorial days, and panegyrics pronounced by the best orators of the land. These, no doubt, had their effect on the Christians. When their heroes, who had given their life for their faith, had gone from them, it was an excusable impulse, arising from the very nature of humanity, to preserve their memory by special services and realistic attachment to the place of the martyr's death. That this usage should develop into the lengthy martyrology of the Roman Catholic Church, the superstitious veneration for real relics and the wild search for imaginary ones, came from a want of wise and discriminate care in the direction of it. What at the outset was free from objection, and even wholesome, became a fruitful source of error. The most of the great errors into which the Church has fallen are only the perversion of what at the beginning were the inspirations of great and pure minds.

The Christians possessed no definite place for religious services. During the persecutions they assembled in private houses, grottoes, prisons, and the catacombs, and in more peaceful times in public inns and rude temporary structures. Toward the end of the second century they first began to build special edifices for worship, and, during the longer intervals of peace, especially between the Valerian and Diocletian persecutions, their churches were capacious and not devoid of taste and architectural finish. There was a careful avoidance at the beginning of all imitation of the pagan temple. The type of the first Christian churches was the basilica (or Roman hall of justice), the private dwelling house, and the schola (or school, or club room). It was called the Lord's house, the house of prayer, and the house of the Church ;¹ and it was only after Christianity became the State religion, and the temples became churches, that the word temple was applied to the sacred buildings of Christians. Great variety of opinion exists as to the derivation, architecturally, of the first churches. The general opinion is that they were derived from the Roman basilica.² Lange, of Halle,³ advocated their der-

MEMORIAL
SERVICES A
NATURAL RE-
SULT OF THE
HEROIC LIFE
AND DEATH
OF MARTYRS.

CHRISTIANS
HAD AT FIRST
NO REGULAR
PLACE OF
WORSHIP.

¹ Κυριακόν, προσευκτήριον, οἶκος ἐκκλησίας.

² See Standard Dictionary, N. Y., 1894. *Basilica*.

³ Haus und Halle, Leipz., 1855.

ivation from the schola, and this view is adopted, with modifications, in the able work of G. B. Brown.¹ Brown "considers it a settled result of recent research that the whole procedure of heathen funeral colleges was adopted, with certain obvious modifications, by the Christians, and that, under the cover of the privileges granted such corporations, the Church held cemeteries as its first real estate; while mortuary chapels and the large room of the burial club became the first models for Christian architecture."² Dehio traced many resemblances to the dwelling house.³ There is no doubt that Christian architecture was the outgrowth of many elements. Bennett, who treated this matter with great discrimination, reviews the different theories; and his own view no doubt expresses as nearly as possible the exact facts of the case: "The ordinary private dwelling house, the triclinia of the more elegant houses of the nobler families that had embraced Christianity, the lodge rooms, the cellæ of the burial chapels, and the imposing interior arrangement of colonnades in the heathen law basilicas, are the sources whence are derived the forms which, under the fostering and inspiring spirit of the new religion during periods of toleration and peace, were developed into a distinctively Christian architecture, whose chief characteristics continued for a thousand years."⁴ Alexander Nesbitt derives the first church from the Roman basilica, and gives an admirable account of the development of ecclesiastical architecture.⁵ The architecture of these first churches was extremely simple, and gave no promise of the subsequent splendor of the basilica and the cathedral. The interior arrangement consisted of three parts—the vestibule, the nave, and the choir. Entering from the vestibule into the nave, the worshiper found himself in that part of the church to which the congregation were admitted, where the pulpit was erected from which the Scriptures were read and the sermons preached. In some churches it was less the habit to use a pulpit than to stand upon the altar steps. The clergy alone were permitted access to the choir, which corresponded to the holy of holies of the Jewish temple.⁶ It was sometimes separated from the nave by a lattice, or railing,⁷ and curtains, and was elevated above the nave. Here, in the center, was the wooden table bearing the symbols of our Lord's death, while, in the rear,

¹ From Schola to Cathedral, Edinb., 1886.

² See H. M. Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theology*, iv, 150-152, and De Witt, in the *Presbyterian Review*, 1886, p. 753.

³ Die Genesis der christlichen Basilika, Münch., 1883.

⁴ Christian Archaeology, N. Y., 1888, ch. vi, pp. 183, 184.

⁵ In art. "Church," Smith and Cheetham.

⁶ Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, p. 184, f. ⁷ Cancelli.

following the semicircular wall, were the seats of the clergy, and the cathedra, or raised seat of the bishop.¹

There was no ornamentation in the building or display in the worship. A simple severity ruled everywhere, such as has never reappeared in the later history of the Church, except in the Protestants of France and Scotland and the first generation of Puritans in the New England colony. As the Independents of the Cromwellian period, when organizing their ecclesiastical life, avoided the very nomenclature of the Established Church as an imitation of Roman excesses, so the Christians of the second and third centuries, when ordering their services and building their churches, shunned every name which the pagans had used for their sacred buildings and vessels and services. They would have no reminder of the pit whence they had been digged. They would never call their church a shrine or fane,² for these were the pagan words for the temple of idolatry; nor would they at first call their table in the choir an altar, but the sacred table, lest, amid the sublime sanctities of the eucharist, there might arise some recollection of the profanities of the former pagan life, and their thought be diverted from the memorials of Calvary and Gethsemane.

SIMPLICITY OF
THE PLACE OF
WORSHIP.

HESITATION TO
USE PAGAN
TERMS.

This sensitiveness, however, soon disappeared, for we find Eusebius, Lactantius, and other early writers calling the church by the heathen names of *ναός*, *templum*; and the most common name for the sacramental table in the whole ancient Latin literature is *altare*, a high altar, the Vulgate equivalent of *θυσιαστήριον*, the sacrificial altar, which is itself used by Eusebius to describe the altar of the great church of Tyre.³ The Church did not hesitate to use sacrificial and heathen terms. The Greek Fathers and the Greek liturgies commonly kept to the more exact word, *τράπεζα*, table.⁴

No images were used. The words of Clement of Alexandria express the sentiment of his age, in both the East and the West: "The custom of daily looking on the representation of the Divine Being desecrates his dignity." The council of Elvira, in the year

No images were used. The words of Clement of Alexandria express the sentiment of his age, in both the East and the West: "The custom of daily looking on the representation of the Divine Being desecrates his dignity." The council of Elvira, in the year

¹ The first description of a church is by Eusebius, H. E., x, 4, the basilica of Tyre. He describes others in his Life of Constantine, iii, 30-39, 41-43, 48, 50, 51-53, 58; iv, 58. Bingham, Antiquities, book viii. ch. iii, gives full descriptions. See art. "Basilika," in Kraus, Real-Encyclopädie der christ. Alterthümer.

² Delubrum, or fanum.

³ H. E., x, 4.

⁴ Cheetham, art. Altar, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christian Antiquities; Bingham, book viii, ch. vi, § 12, where, in the later editions, the original passages are cited.

305, declared positively against all pictures or images in the churches.¹ The time had not as yet arrived when Christian art was employed to clothe with ethereal beauty the features of our Lord. In those severer days he was universally regarded as of the homely visage attributed to him in prophecy,² and it is a quaint fancy of Tertullian that Jesus could never have been despised of men, and have suffered for our redemption, if in his own person he had manifested his heavenly glory.³ Clement of Alexandria declared that our Lord's face possessed no beauty,⁴ and Origen held that his whole body was repulsive,⁵ and Lactantius, in the simplicity and force of his argument, excels all the fathers when he says, "Since God himself has appeared in the flesh we need no image of him."⁶ While the Roman Church, in later days, surrounded his presence with all the grace and charm and harmony that we see in the masterpieces of Giotto and his successors, the Eastern Church has never passed from its original conception of the plain countenance of our Lord. In the Græco-Russian Church of to-day, whether amid the splendors of the Cathedral of St. Isaac, in St. Petersburg, or in the now ancient Church of the Transfiguration, or the Kremlin, in Moscow, it is the same sad and austere countenance, to which no glow has come from Christian art in its ecstatic and creative moods.⁷

NO IMAGES
USED IN EARLY
CHURCH.

Minucius Felix, in his *Octavius*, presents a beautiful contrast between the simplicity of Christian worship and the sacred objects of the Christians and the ostentatious service of the pagan temple, with its vast wealth of sacred furniture. "Do you think," he asks of the pagans, "that we conceal the objects of our worship because we possess no shrines and altars? What sort of an image shall we make of God, since man himself is in the likeness of God? Shall I build a temple in which to place him, when the whole world, which he himself has created, is not large enough to contain him? Shall I make to him an offering of what he gave me for my own use, so that I throw back at his feet the gift he has made me? That were a proof of ingratitude. The pure thought—the clean conscience—that is the

SIMPLICITY OF
CHRISTIAN
WORSHIP CON-
TRASTED WITH
THE PAGAN.

¹ Can. 26: *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoretur, in parietibus depingatur.*

² Isa. liii, 2, 3. Comp. Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, cap. 14.

³ *De carne Christi*, cap. 9.

⁴ *Αλοχός*. *Pædagogus*, 3, 1.

⁵ *Αποειδός*. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 6.

⁶ *Div. Instit.*, 2, 2.

⁷ For descriptions of the physical appearance of Jesus, see McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopædia*, ii, 262; iv, 884; v, 349; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, i, 149-151, 464, 465; Geikie, *Life of Christ*, i, 451-457.

offering acceptable to God. . . . Our God, whom we worship, we neither show to others nor see ourselves."¹

No lights burned as yet in the daytime in the Christian churches. It would have been regarded as an inexcusable display amid a sacred environment, but, more than all else, an accommodation to the corrupt pagan worship. The burning of the little ornamental lamps in the church would have reminded the Christian immediately of the ever-burning lights of the pagan temples, with all their vast array of false worship, soothsaying, and incantation, and those darker ceremonies connected with the observance of the mysteries. Lactantius wrote a scathing rebuke of the pagans for burning lamps in broad daylight.² Those were the simpler and clearer days. In the later period, in proportion as the mind of the Church became darker, recourse was had to tapers and lamps, whose dim and steady flame was supposed to contribute to the awe and devotion of the worshiper. "Through all the churches of the East," says St. Jerome, "when the Gospel is to be read, lights are kindled, though the sun is already shining; not, indeed, to expel darkness, but to exhibit a token of joy; . . . and that under the figure of bodily light that light may be set forth of which we read in the Psalter, 'Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.'"³

The worship was in harmony with the simple and severe place in which it was conducted. Justin's description of the order of service applies to the simplest period of the patristic age, or the former half of the second century. "On Sunday," he says, "Christians come together from the city and the country. Here are read the narratives of the apostles or the writings of the prophets. When the reader has concluded the presbyter makes an address, in which he urges his hearers to imitate the virtues described in the passages just read. Then all stand up and pray. After the conclusion of the prayer each gives the other the brother's kiss, and bread, wine, and water are brought out. The presbyter now offers prayer and thanksgiving, as he is able, and the people unite with him, and cry, 'Amen.' Then the elements are distributed to all who are present, and are taken by the deacons to the absent."⁴ In Rome, Spain, and Alexandria the

JUSTIN ON THE
ORDER OF
SERVICE.

¹ xxxii.

² Div. Instit., 6, 2.

³ From the fourth century lamps were placed in churches, and at their lighting special prayers were said, the *psalmi* and *preces lucernales*. See Scudamore on The Ceremonial Use of Lights, and Hotham on Lighting of Lamps, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 926, 927, 998-999. Scudamore gives much information on some interesting phases of the early Church cultus.

⁴ Apol. ad Antoninum Pium, lxvii.

eucharist was administered at every Sunday service down to the end of the fourth century, but after that time there was a disposition to regard the semiannual, or even annual, observance as more fitting.¹

The singing was simple, and modeled after the Jewish psalmody. The lower clergy were almost universally the precentors, for the singing of the congregation was regarded as such an integral part of the divine service that only clerical SACRED MUSIC. officers should direct it.² The music was at no time, and in no place, regarded as the prerogative of the singers. That only was held to be sacred music which the congregation could participate in, either responsively or continuously. The two churches most noted for sacred music in the early period were Antioch in Syria, and the Italian Church of Milan, where Ambrose created the later psalmody of the Western Church.³ The music of the Church was at first simple, but to the old melodies were now added new words, which in many instances found their way into the public services, and had a tendency to displace the older psalmody.

With the change of Christianity from a depressed and forbidden faith to the religion of the whole Roman empire there took place a sudden revolution in the entire service of the Church, not less than in sacred buildings in which it was conducted. The transition was so sudden as to paralyze every power. One of REVOLUTION IN THE SIMPLICITY OF THE EARLY WORSHIP. the greatest proofs of the divine origin and nature of Christianity lies in the fact that it had power enough to survive the transition from martyrdom to the throne. The Churches soon adopted an elaborate ceremonial. The hymns of Ephraem the Syrian, of Hilary of Pictavium, and of Sedulius, showed traces of the artificiality which now disturbed every factor in the service of the Church. The bombastic rhetoric which had ruled in the Roman world since the death of Cicero was now introduced into the Christian pulpit, and the congregation burst forth in applause extravagant enough for a welcome to a chief returning from the conquest of a new province. The assertion of the secular spirit was prompt and thorough. Nothing more was needed, after the Constantinian period had well begun, than for controversy and superstition to join hands in bringing in that long torpor which Luther and his coadjutors were the first to disturb.

¹ Basil M., Ep. 33. Chrys., in II Cor. Hom., 18. Leo M., Sermon. 41.

² Conc. Laodic., Can. 15. Comp. Jacobi, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 262, ff.

³ Hahn, *Gesang in den syrischen Kirchen*, in *kirchenhistor. Archiv.*, iii, 1823.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND USAGES.

AN irresistible prominence was given to Christianity by the efforts made to suppress it. The logic of the general mind assumed the form of a question: How can that be a mere superstition which Jew and pagan from without, and schismatics within, have been unable to dissipate? When this period drew toward its close, and the new religion displaced the old as the faith of the empire, an answer to such an inquiry was no longer necessary. The great world of humanity worships the existing and the palpable. When it became clear that Christianity was in the ascendant, the multitude who had stood aloof from the conflict between the Church and its adversaries now approached it and looked upon it with quiet favor, and concluded that because it had endured it had proved its right to be. It was a new attitude in which the average mind of the Roman world placed itself at the close of the third century and the beginning of the fourth, but it was a necessity of the new conditions.

Of the causes which brought about this revolution the force of the life of Christians upon their pagan environment must take its place in the front rank. Had there been a serious defect here neither the marvelous literary fertility of the Christian writers, nor the zeal of the missionaries, nor the eloquence of the preachers, nor the organizing power of its Roman bishops would have secured it an open way to success. That new system which fails to elevate the

THE GREAT
CAUSES OF THE
POPULAR LOVE
OF THE
CHURCH.

life of its lowly believers and purify the atmosphere of their thought and feeling, and make their far future attractive through the intervening mists, fails in all things. It was clear that Christianity was making homes happy and lifting its firm adherents so far above the low plane of the pagan world that suffering had little effect upon them. When a persecution had done its utmost in banishment, confiscation, and martyrdom, not a year of repose passed before the numbers seemed as large as ever, and every department of ecclesiastical activity was cultivated and developed with renewed vigor. Christians seemed never to die. If one pure and brave leader was put to death, and the Roman proconsul breathed more freely, and a new

statue was erected in the neighboring grove to the ruling emperor, Christians met on the spot where their martyr died, and sang songs of gladness over his birth into another and larger life.

This effect of Christianity upon the life of the people through what they saw in the Christian life about them was not the simple and reserved thing which it had been in the apostolic times. It was then a retired force in society. But in the following age it came out from its seclusion, it accepted the gage of battle in defense of its existence; and it was now, at the close of its contested youth, the triumphant and sole occupant of the field of combat. During this progress from obscurity to publicity and universal triumph the charities of Christianity were prompt and generous. Paul's example of collections in Asia Minor for the poor in Palestine was followed by his successors in every part of Christendom. No cry for help was unheeded. The charity which we see to-day when fire or flood or famine bears heavily upon some American town, and ready hands are found in the distant churches to restore the lost, was universal in the patristic times.¹ The fact of a persecution was enough to open the treasures of heart and money a thousand miles away. When Cyprian saw that the Numidian Christians were not able to pay the required ransom of their captive brethren he took a large collection in Carthage for that purpose and sent it to them with that letter which was a beautiful commentary on Paul's portraiture of charity. The weak rural societies connected with the Carthaginian Church joined in the same work of redeeming captive Christians. Dionysius of Corinth lauded the Roman society as the helper of Christians, without distinction, from its very origin.² Dionysius of Alexandria, in his letter to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, pays the same tribute. Basil of Cappadocia wrote to Rome a letter of thanks for money sent to him to redeem captive Christians from their barbarous foes.³ The picture which Demetrius drew of the sacrifice of the Christians, in contrast with the timidity and selfishness of the pagans, during a pestilence in Alexandria, was a truthful expression of the attitude of each class during the whole period.⁴ What Cyprian said in strong epigram became a rule of Christian action: "The poor should live from your superfluity; the needy from your wealth."⁵

The oblations which were first offered upon the Christian altars were simple, consisting chiefly of the bread and wine used in the

THE PUBLIC
TRIUMPH OF
CHRISTIANITY.

UNIVERSAL
SYMPATHY
WITH THE
WEAK AND
PERSECUTED.

¹ Brace, *Gesta Christi*, 4th ed., pp. 101-103. ² Epist. 60.

³ Epist. 70, ad Damasum.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 22.

⁵ De Habitu Virgineum, cap. 8.

Lord's Supper, but these increased to such an extent as to comprise honey, milk, grapes, and the firstlings of all fruits and harvests, which were afterward given to the poor. There was not an hour in the history of Christianity when the Church was so rich as to possess no poor or when the poor were without friends. The memorial days of the martyrs were especially fruitful of these gifts.¹ They were brought to the place of worship in great quantities, and from there distributed to the most needy. Benevolence was encouraged as a religious necessity, not only for the poor, but for the regular support of the Church. In every place of worship, however small, there was a box,² where all worshipers deposited their offerings. Tertullian relates that each one was expected to contribute at least every month,³ but the Apostolical Constitutions taught that the Christian must make his offering to the Church treasury every Sunday,⁴ while Cyprian laid down the rule that he who does not give of his substance every Sunday for the support of the Gospel desecrates the holy day.⁵

In addition to these voluntary contributions, which were deposited in a common receptacle by the donor, was the regular collection,⁶ which was gathered at each service before the reading of the Scripture lessons, taken in hand by the deacons and deposited in the sacristy.⁷ These gifts were of various kinds, and consisted, not of money alone, but of produce or wares or whatever the worshiper may have seen fit to bring with him.⁸ Even at this early time many wealthy pagans, on becoming Christians, sold the most of their property and presented the proceeds to the Church for the benefit of the poor or for the evangelization of distant countries.⁹ It is not likely that any churches at this period were wealthy. Not only was there as yet no disposition to amass means, but it would have been a source of constant danger

SPECIAL MEAS-
URES TO COL-
LECT MONEY
FOR THE POOR.

THE REGULAR
COLLECTION
FOR THE POOR.

¹ Denique et dies illorum, quibus exundant annote, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus . . . et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum. Cyprian, Ep. 37.

² Called by Cyprian *corban*; by the Apostolical Constitutions, *corbona*; by the Council of Elvira, *concha*; and by Tertullian, *arca*. For full information, see Uhlhorn, Christian Charity in the Ancient Church, pp. 141, ff.

³ Apolog., cap. 39.

⁴ iii, 33.

⁵ De Op. et Eleem., cap. 14.

⁶ Συναγωγή.

⁷ Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege (Freiburg im B., 1865), pp. 39, ff.

⁸ Moreau-Christophe, Du Probleme de la Misère et de sa Solution chez les Peuples Anciens et Modernes (Paris, 1851), vol. iii, pp. 222, ff.

⁹ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., cap. 3, 37; Tertullian, Adv. Marcion., iv, 4, and De Præscript. Hær., cap. 30.

from avaricious civil officers¹ and a still more dangerous class with whom paganism was a chief ground of hostility. In the East a fixed sum, or the tithe, was held by some to be the proper standard of annual beneficence. Here the Jewish example was largely responsible for a plan, and yet, while Origen approves this proportion of property for religious uses, he is careful to say that he speaks only for himself.² In the Western Church there was no standard. The stronger teachers opposed any fixed measure by saying that it was an excellence of Christianity above Judaism that, under the former, the Lord required all that could be spared.³

The bishop was regarded as having a special care of all the needy. The deacons were not supposed to originate charity, but to carry out the instructions of the society and the bishop and presbyters.⁴ Great care was taken to ascertain the worthy poor, for even in the first centuries of Christianity, as in the later, great skill was employed to deceive the officers of the Church and secure to unworthy hands its gifts designed for only the meritorious. The deacon was required to keep a careful record, in a special book (the matricula), of the names of all who received aid from the Church and the amount of the benefactions.⁵ Special care was taken to provide help for families so large that the parents were not able to secure their entire support.

PAINS TAKEN
TO FIND OUT
THE WORTHY
POOR.

Slaves were never forgotten. Paul had given a cautious teaching on their proper relation to the master. He did not advise a violent sundering of the bond, but encouraged contentment with the subjection, on the one hand, and the feeling of fraternal love toward the slave, on the other. In the patristic period there was no disposition to enforce a different construction of the relation of master and slave. Such a measure would have been regarded as revolutionary, a charge which the Christians were always careful to avoid. But the Church had a definite policy toward slavery. It was that where the slaves remained in bondage they should be treated with Christian kindness and should enjoy all the privileges of comfort, education, and religion that were permitted by the laws of the State. In the Christian family the slaves were regarded rather as brothers and

SYMPATHY
WITH THE
SLAVE.

¹ Chastel, *Études Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité*, p. 244. Trans. Phila., 1857, ch. iii.

² Homil. xvii, in Jos., tom. ii, 438 (Maurine ed.).

³ Irén., *De Hæres.*, iv, cap. 18 et 24; Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. 23; *Nunc de patrimonio nec decimas damus.*

⁴ Hatch has fully developed the relation of the bishop and deacon in almsgiving. *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 40, ff.

⁵ Cyprian, Ep. 38; *Constit. Apost.*, ii, 27.

sons than as inferiors.¹ Slavery might continue, "but," as Bunsen says, "while the Christian might remain a slave he ceased to be without a body and soul of his own."² Many slaves were manumitted, but, unlike the pagan freedmen, were not afterward permitted to sink to the level of the neglected proletariat. On the contrary, the former masters continued to exercise over them a gentle and wise patronage, or, when this was impossible, the society near which the slave lived took pains to see that he was provided with labor and support.³ In a large number of the societies where the slaves of pagan masters were members, and were not permitted to attend the services or profess Christianity, the Churches bought their freedom and saw that they were established in a way to provide for their own support.⁴

The religious education of the young was a prominent object of solicitude from the origin of the apostolical Church. The catechetical instruction was adapted, not only to the children of Christian parents, but to the large number of adults who entered the Church from paganism and were as ignorant as infants of the doctrines and usages of Christianity. Instruction in every department of religious life was necessary to be imparted, but there could be no schools except such as were connected in a measure with the local society; and it was regarded as only a department of the worship itself. The Christian youth found its first and best training in the home, and its next came through the Church in catechetical instruction. This was not simply a course of elementary knowledge. It began with the elements, but was thorough, and in progressive and comprehensive quality would put to the blush many of our weak modern catechisms. Were it possible to revive the catechetical school of Alexandria, before Origen became a theological professor and committed his direct dealing

¹ Ratzinger, *Geschichte der Armenpflege*, p. 50, f.

² Hippolytus and His Age, vol. i, p. 49.

³ Chastel, *Études Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité*, p. 118.

⁴ *Constit. Apost.*, iv, 9. Schaff has some excellent remarks, *Church History*, new ed., i, 444-448; ii, 347-354. See the fine chapters of Brace—chaps. v, vi, "The burial inscriptions and pictures recently made known often show the masters standing before the Good Shepherd, with a band of their slaves, liberated at death, pleading for them at the last judgment. But scarcely any Christian inscription speaks of the dead as a 'slave' or 'freedman,' but only of the 'slave of Christ' or the 'freedman of Christ:' as if human slavery could not even be mentioned in the kingdom of God" (p. 53). Comp. Schaff, "Slavery and the Bible," in *Christ and Christianity*, N. Y., 1885, pp. 194-212; Dilling, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, pp. 163, ff. On the relation of Tertullian to slavery, see von Nöldeken, *Tertullian als Mensch und als Bürger*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1895, II. v.

with the students to a subordinate, we should most likely find that the curriculum comprised not only all the elementary instruction essential for a knowledge of scriptural truth, but other departments of general culture which had long been awaiting Christian regeneration.¹

The Church was sometimes friendly to pagan culture, at other times unfriendly. The Apostolical Constitutions forbade the reading of the pagan authors, but Tertullian urged Christians to take advantage of the pagan schools; and Augustine, for their mental discipline, commends the study of grammar, rhetoric, and heathen writers. The fourth council of Carthage, 398, so far forgot its great teacher that it formally prohibited the reading of secular books, even by the bishops.² But the monks soon took their revenge by their profound study of the classic authors of Greece and Rome.³ The writings of the fathers of the first three centuries exhibit a remarkable familiarity with the whole range of pagan literature.

It is safe to suppose that the Christian population, five out of every six, could read, and that the very necessities of the new life constituted a powerful impulse toward the development of the mind and the enlargement of its attainments. The remarkable activity of the theologians in their production of books, and especially that class of their works which were of more popular cast, prove that, in the patristic age, reading was not the prerogative of the few members or the large schools, but the privilege of the great commonalty of believers. Their minds were acute and inquiring. The literature in which they had been reared consisted largely of mythological or dramatic recitals, or, if not that, of philosophical speculation: Christianity had not as yet reared its libraries and built up its strong literary centers. The Christian mind, therefore, craved food, and devoured the new literature with great avidity. The copies of the Scriptures were expensive, but they were multiplied, and the various Christian Churches possessed many copies of them, and likewise expository and other works for the use of the congregation. Every worshiper was free to use them,⁴ and between the hours of service, and through the week, and in the evenings, we may well imagine that diligent use was made of them by those who had no copies of the sacred writings or the current theological works in their own homes.

As in these times one of the first impulses of an individual of

¹ See Laurie, *Rise and Constitution of Universities*, N. Y., 1887, pp. 25-28.

² See Laurie, *l. c.*, pp. 25, 26.

³ See Newman, *Historical Sketches*, ii, 450, 451, 460-466.

⁴ *Iren.*, *Advers. Hæc.*, 4, 32, § 1.

EARLY CHRIS-
TIAN INTELLI-
GENT, AND THE
THEOLOGIAN
LEARNED.

large means, on becoming a Christian, is to make liberal contributions for the propagation of the Gospel and other charitable purposes, so, in the second and third centuries, it was a desire of merchants and others who possessed means to employ copyists to transcribe the entire Scriptures for loaning or presenting, either to churches or private circles, that the knowledge of the word of God might be propagated with utmost dispatch.¹ So many of these copies were in private hands as to excite the wrath of the pagan authorities in times of persecution, especially that of Diocletian, when their possessors were ordered to deliver them up to be burned. Many thousands of copies were thus delivered in every part of the empire where the persecution prevailed, but far the greater number were saved through the tact and courage of their possessors. Even the literary enemies of Christianity became possessors of copies of the Scriptures, for in Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles, and others, there are so many citations from them that one cannot doubt that the more candid writers did the Christians the justice to examine their Scriptures. The great extent to which the circulation of the sacred writings was carried may be seen in the further fact that some of the most brilliant writers and foremost defenders of Christianity, such as Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus, were won to Christianity by reading the Scriptures.

One of the most prominent parts of the instruction of the Church at this period was to show the supreme necessity of a knowledge of the Scriptures. Young and old were admonished of this fundamental duty. The exact language of the Bible was made the basis of the instruction in the home,² while domestic worship consisted in part of the reading and reciting of scriptural selections.³ Each church had a special room,⁴ "the place of meditation," in a retired part of the sacred inclosure, where the copies of the Scriptures were accessible to all of the congregation who desired to read them. Here, too, were other books, the recent disquisitions from Alexandria, Rome, Carthage, or Antioch, as the theological affinities of the ruling presbyters might decide.⁵

¹ Jerome, *Apol. adv. Ruf.*, lib. 1.

² Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, 3, 12. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, 6, 2.

³ Tertul., *Ad Uxor.*, 2, 6. Comp. Kurtz, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, i, p. 208.

⁴ *φροντιστήριον*, "thinking shop," a word sarcastically applied by Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 94, 128) to the school of Socrates in Athens.

⁵ Bruce, *Gesta Christi*, pp. 218, 219.

The domestic life of the Christians was in harmony with the simplicity of their worship and their churches. In no department of the pagan civilization was there a greater revolution SIMPLICITY OF DOMESTIC LIFE. than in this respect. All the reminders of the ancestral idolatry were removed, and in their place only Christian symbols were employed. The furniture, household utensils, ornaments, and jewelry of the Roman house had been profusely adorned with figures and monograms of the favorite divinities, while in court and halls, and in niches in the private apartments, statues and busts reminded one constantly of the pagan pantheon. This, it is true, was not the original Roman domestic life. In those better and simpler days, before Rome had absorbed bodily the whole pantheon of Greece, there were no images of the gods and demigods in the household of the Italian. He seemed to be the worshiper of the spiritual and the invisible.

For nearly two centuries after the founding of Rome no citizen had accommodated himself to the superstition of Greece and Egypt so far as to erect in his house and his temple a statue, or any other material representation, of any deity.¹ But that day had passed by. The splendid images of ideal divinities in the Greek temples and the groves and along the highways had found their imitation in Rome, so that the idolatries of Sparta and Athens PAGAN IMAGES IN PRIVATE ROMAN HOMES. were even exaggerated on the Italian peninsula. The images of idolatry in the temples and more public places were not only transferred to the homes, but carried to an excess that the public eye, even amid the depravity of the later empire, refused to tolerate. Not only was every house under the care of some divinity, but even the most costly jewelry was wrought into such shape or setting as to bear the image of some fabled god, or in some way to tell the legend of his virtues. The excavations that have reached the walls of private houses in Pompeii, and the seals and finer carvings which have come to us from ancient Rome, show how thoroughly the idolatry of the times was interwoven in the life and thought of the private citizen, and how every object which greeted his eye, whether at home or abroad, was made to tell him of the gods of his fathers.²

The first impulse of the Christian was to put away all these memorials of his discarded superstition from his home. He lost no time in blotting out every trace of the presence of any other divinity than Him of Nazareth. The obedient Mercury, the majestic

¹ Varro makes the date one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Rome. Comp. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 4, 31.

² Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, pp. 122-126.

THE ROMAN CHRISTIAN'S FIRST IMPULSE TO ABANDON THE HOUSE-HOLD GODS. Apollo, the generous Ceres, and even the omnipotent Jove, disappeared from doorway, hall, court, and fountain; while not an object was to be found as an ornament on the person or a fresco on the walls to remind of the old abominations.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS INSTEAD. But the Christian was not long satisfied with a mere blank—this severe absence of all symbolism. Instead of the old faith he now possessed a better. It, too, had its rich imagery, which might safely be repeated in his home and on all his furniture and simple ornaments. The pause was brief, for the Christian symbols soon grew into a large system. The more cautious Christian writers encouraged their use as a safe and proper counterpart to the polytheistic symbolism of their pagan adversaries. Clement of Alexandria urged the use of Christian symbols on seal rings,¹ and named as proper figures the dove, as an image of the Holy Ghost; and the fish, with reference to the call of Zebedee's sons to be fishers of men; and the ship, as an image of the advancing Church; and the lyre, as a type of Christian joy; and the anchor, as an expression of hope. In time these images, with many others, took the place in the Christian-home of the abandoned figures of paganism. There was no use of the crucifix and no material representation of the cross.²

THE USE OF THE CROSS. We are led to adopt our symbolism largely by contrast, and there was, perhaps, too much crucifixion in the suffering life to which they had been subjected by persecuting rulers to make use of the central symbol of their faith. A sanctity attached to it which seemed to the Christian mind too elevated to be cast into material form and stand before the vulgar gaze. In the later times, when there was no further cross in the life, and the symbol of our Lord's crucifixion was simply a reminder of the bitter past, the cross became a frequent object, both in private houses and the places of public worship. It was seldom employed until the bearing of it had ceased to be a necessity.

The Church of this period was not an aggregation of distinct Christian communities, having but a slender and frail bond of connection. This was the picture which the idolatrous system of paganism presented. There was no relation between one temple

¹ Predag., 3, 11.

² Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 185, f. That is, at the very earliest time. The use of the cross was common in the second century. Tertullian says that in all the ordinary occasions of life the Christians made the sign of the cross, De Cor., iii. Representations of the cross were also frequent, doubtless, in the second century. See Cross, Sign of the Cross, Crucifix, in Smith and Cheetham. The crucifix was much later.

and another that might stand within a hundred paces of it. The very diversity of polytheism precluded the possibility of unity of worship. The temples were dedicated to gods of the greatest imaginable variety. The priestly class were simply subordinate officers of the State, and there was no general bond of sympathy by which they were united. The whole pagan system, whether we view it as doctrine or worship, was only a rope of sand. To this loose quality of the pagan religion Christianity stood in perfect contrast. It was a compact and elaborate organism. It had its central doctrine, its one Deity, its grades of clerical administrators, and its generally harmonious worship; and it is still a wonder, which defies all power of explanation on a human basis, how such a near approach to uniformity in all these departments could be reached when we remember the vastness of the territory which constituted the Christendom of the times and the endless variety of temperament and national origin.

THE EARLY
CHURCH A
COMPACT OR-
GANISM.

Every Christian felt the power of this universal relationship. His was a brotherhood which comprised all men and all times. Our Lord had often spoken of his kingdom, and, amid the political chaos of the third and fourth centuries, the Christian could look on with a measure of complacency, for he knew that his kingdom would survive that of the empire of the day. This sense of neighborhood and fraternity underlay the readiness of Christians in one place to relieve their companions in faith elsewhere. It was one family, though some of its members were toiling on in another part of the pilgrimage and had met with enemies by the way. The abounding charity of the first centuries was simply the outpouring of hearts that belonged to the same household of faith.

UNIVERSAL RE-
LATIONSHIP OF
THE CHRISTIAN

This sense of near relationship was manifested, in addition to the charity, by the remarkable correspondence of the patristic period. Nearly every great teacher was an industrious correspondent. Paul had set the example, for his epistles were not only the firm dogmatic statement of Christian truth, but living and warm appeals from the spiritual father to the societies which he had organized. These epistles, having been multiplied, now took their place with other Scriptures, and were read in many societies which had arisen since Paul's days. His successors adopted his method, not alone because of the strong apostolic example, but as a necessity of the times. Letters were the literary fashion for five centuries, and at intervals since then, in our modern times, they have occasionally advanced to the front rank of literary finish. In the Roman days, as we see in the correspond-

CORRESPOND-
ENCE OF THE
PATRISTIC PER-
IOD.

ence of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, and other authors, the form of the letter to an individual was chosen to acquaint the whole public with the views of the individual author. Paul only adopted the usage which he found in existence at the time, and he made use of it alone in all his authorship. His successors in the propagation of the Gospel saw its advantages, and while many of them wrote in the form of the treatise they also paid great attention to the writing of letters to both individuals and societies. The letters of Polycarp and Origen, and the eighty-six warm and nervous epistles of Cyprian, are only a small part of the epistolary legacy of those times to the Church of the later period. Melito of Sardis, and Claudius Apollinaris, who addressed to Marcus Aurelius replies in defense of Christianity, were only a type of the large number of apologists who addressed treatises in the form of letters to Roman emperors, and yet who knew not but that the reply to such epistolary boldness might be a summons to the stake or exile. The great increase of spurious literature in the form of letters may be regarded as a fair criterion of the extent to which correspondence was carried in those days.

The whole Christian world was brought into close relationship by this endless correspondence. It was not necessary to utilize the postal relations of the empire. The Christians were in every community, and were more largely represented among the commercial and laboring classes than in any other. They were constantly moving from place to place, not only because of the persecutions which destroyed the possibility of permanent homes, but they followed the lines of commerce, both on sea and land. As in the United States the Christian people from the Atlantic seaboard have gone to the Western and Northwestern societies and taken with them the Christian spirit, and been the planters of Christian societies in those new regions, so in the third and fourth centuries did Christians observe the new openings for business and plant Christian societies in the places where they settled. Between the newer and the older societies, and between individuals and the churches which they founded, and between societies far removed territorially, there was carried on such a large correspondence as has never been repeated in religious literature since the invention of printing.

Christians who went upon a journey were often the bearers of letters to be delivered on the way or on reaching their destination; and when these letters arrived, being on a durable fabric, either papyrus or parchment for the most part, they were not simply read by the individual and thrown aside. They were permanent posses-

UNIVERSAL
MOVEMENT OF
CHRISTIANS.

sions, and belonged to the treasures of the society or the individual receiving them. The synodical letters, which were written after each session of the provincial synod to similar bodies in other provinces, will convey some idea of the extent to which official relationship was carried. Whenever action was taken on a schism the fact was immediately communicated far and near; while a bishop, on being chosen to the office, was equally prompt in notifying his colleagues throughout Christendom.

CHRISTIANS
CONSTANTLY
TEACHING LET-
TERS TO FAR-
OFF FELLOW-
BELIEVERS.

Here, too, belong the travels of the fathers and teachers. The most distant parts of the Church were brought into close relationship by the tie, still stronger than correspondence, of personal visitation. Time was less the question then than now. The disposition to see, and by seeing to learn and write, was never more intense and has never impelled to larger achievements than in the third and fourth centuries. The societies were founded by the personal labors of some teacher and evangelist, and the same motive which led to their organization was in full force to perpetuate them. A church once established was never forgotten. In this constant personal oversight of the Church, which lasted from the third century to the fifth, we see only a continuation of the labors of Paul and the other apostles. They were constantly on the journey. Even if Paul remained two years in a place we find him frequently making mention of his plans to leave it.

TRAVELS OF
THE FATHERS
AND TEACH-
ERS.

This visitation of many countries, with sojourns of varied duration on the way, was for the sole purpose of founding and developing Christian societies. While the purpose could be entertained only by the Christian, the method was in force already for the purposes of learned research or geographical information. As in our times it is customary to go to Germany for a higher professional learning than can be obtained in the United States, and as three centuries ago it was the habit on the Continent to make the theological journey, or tour of the universities, so in the time of Pericles it was the usage of the Greek scholar to go, as Plato to Heliopolis, to the seats of Egyptian learning that were old when Homer sang. Herodotus was not a recluse who spent his life as an author in a Greek home, poring over the faded scrolls of now forgotten travelers, but an industrious traveler who, with style in hand, was careful to tarry long with the priests of the Upper Nile to get from them those stories that still charm by their simplicity and candor. At a later date, when the last Greek confederation was broken up, and Rome produced its scholars, Athens must feed them. As Cicero went thither, he only followed the

THE GREAT OB-
JECT OF THE
JOURNEYS OF
VISITATION.

POWER OVER
THE CHURCH
OF THE GREEK
AND ROMAN
TEACHING
BY TEACHING
SCHOLARS.

path of the aspiring minds of his day. The young Roman was as fully driven to Greece and often to Alexandria, Tarsus, and Berytus, to equip himself with the richest treasures in rhetoric, philosophy, and law, as every young artist is now impelled to go to Italy and study the masterpieces in the paradise which produced them.

Many of the strongest minds in the Church of this period had been, like Justin Martyr, pagan scholars, who were seeking to improve their minds and learn the true science by journeys in many countries, and who finally came in contact with Christian minds, and through them accepted Christianity. The pagan scholar, who, after absorbing all the learning furnished in his native town, then exhausted the nearest university, was running larger risk of losing his old faith and imbibing the new Christianity, when he began the tour of the great literary centers. The new religion from Judea was in the atmosphere. It fanned every check. Its adherents were on all

THE PAGAN
SCHOLAR OF-
TEN FOUND
CHRIST WHILE
ON A TOUR OF
LEARNING.

waysides, stopping at all inns, dropping in to hear lectures at the most venerable seats of learning, and slowly poring over the oldest manuscripts, whether in Antioch, Alexandria, or Athens. The young pagan scholar, making long journeys and indefinite sojourns for the purpose of learning the best thoughts of other days and lands, was in constant danger of wrecking the dearest hopes of his life. When the restless Tatian, a traveler in many lands for the storing of his mind and the peace of his soul, at last came in contact with a barbarous scroll, which at first excited his curiosity but afterward absorbed his attention and enlisted his sympathy, he was drinking for the first time at the fountain of the Old Testament Scriptures. It had been the scholar's habit to examine manuscripts wherever he could find them, and they aided largely in converting the pagan into a champion for the truth in all Christian ages. "Filled, while yet a boy," says Hemphill, "with an insatiable thirst for knowledge; a traveler, like Mohammed, through many countries in search of truth; initiated into the inner mysteries of the heathen cults; and then at last, when weary and heartsick with the cruelty, immorality, and dishonesty of paganism, captivated and entranced by the simple charm of the sacred Scriptures—the barbaric letters—upon which by a divine chance he one day lighted."¹

There is almost no book which the Church of the first three centuries produced which was not, directly or indirectly, the fruit of this brisk intercommunication between the extremes of the Christian territory. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, conceived the happy

¹ The Diatessaron of Tatian, Lond., 1888, p. viii. Tatian gives an account of this in his *Oratio ad Græcos*, xxix.

thought of gathering from the still living, but very aged, witnesses of our Lord's life from among the people with whom his ministry had been spent, such recollections as their failing memory might yet retain; "for," said he, "I did not think that I could get so much aid from the books as from the words of those living and remaining."¹ He, therefore, it must be presumed, made at least one careful tour through those parts of Palestine where our Lord had wrought, and talked freely with the aged witnesses of his life who were still living at the end of the first and beginning of the second century; and out of this personal visitation grew his Explanation of the Discourses of our Lord. If we have but fragments of it, and if some legends appear among his many accurate recollections of our Lord's contemporaries, such as the cup of poison which Barsabas drank without injury, and the glory of the vine in the coming kingdom of Christ, neither the meagerness of the matter that has survived nor the presence of legend can detract from the value which the early scholar attached to personal examination in his search for material.²

JOURNEYS OF
CHRISTIAN
SCHOLARS
PRODUCTIVE
OF LITERA-
TURE.

Polycarp, whom the Church has always assigned to the first place among the apostolic fathers, and whose martyrdom at the age of eighty-six was a fit culmination of his laborious and heroic career, saw the dangers that threatened the peace of the Eastern and Western portions of the Church on the questions concerning the time of the Easter observance, and made a journey, in his extreme age, or about the year 158, to Rome, in order to come to an understanding with the bishop, Anicetus, the foremost representative of the Church in the West. This was a most brotherly procedure. There seems to have been no meeting of the Synrna Church, or a provincial assembly, which delegated Polycarp for this great purpose. It was his own thought. The time for more stately and formal overtures had not arrived. While neither one could convince the other of the propriety of the preference of himself and of the part of the Church which he represented, for the Easter observance, the best relations were established between them by this remarkable visit, the first in the history of the Church for the composition of differences, and in proof of the excellent understanding Anicetus committed the administration of a sacramental service to his venerated guest.

POLYCARP'S
CELEBRATED
JOURNEY.

There is good ground to think that Polycarp had another end in view. That Gnosticism, which had begun even before the time of

¹ Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iii, *39.

² Piper, Die Reisen der Kirchenväter, in evangelisches Jahrbuch für 1861, pp. 53, ff; Cruttwell, Literary Hist. of Early Christianity, Lond., 1893, i, 102-110; Heitz and Leimbach, in Herzog and Plitt, art. *Papias*.

his own beloved master, the apostle John, was now in full force, and had a strong following in Rome, which attracted every vagary of the times. Polycarp, according to testimony that has come down to us from his times, is reported to have led many of the Valentinians and Marcionites back to the true doctrine.¹

Justin clad himself in the philosopher's mantle and held the wanderer's staff constantly in hand. He had no sooner returned from one journey than he prepared for another. With a keen eye upon the importance of the best productions of paganism as allies to Christianity he searched in different lands and in both Judaism and paganism for every possible support for Christianity. An Ephesian convert, Asia Minor was too narrow for him, and we therefore find him now in Egypt, examining the separate cells where the seventy translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek reached their unanimous conclusion, and now in southern Italy, amid the silence and gloom of the basilica where the Cumæan sibyl had received her inspirations.² He speaks frequently of *Memorabilia* of the Apostles, which he has heard read in the Christian societies where he has worshiped on his journeys, and which were the four gospels of our present canon.³ We here have a most valuable testimony as to the high character in which the gospels were held at this early day, while, concerning the Old Testament books, we have a similar witness in Melito, Bishop of Sardis, who journeyed to Palestine, and wrote, "Where these things happened and were declared, a catalogue of the Old Testament writings, with selections from them, in six books."⁴

Irenæus, of the next generation, proves that the desire for travel in the interests of the Church was developing into a still stronger passion. This man, a native of Asia Minor, went to Gaul, adapted himself to the new conditions, and appeared in Rome in the interest of the Montanists in Asia Minor.

Hegesippus wrote ecclesiastical history with a purpose. His aim was to defend Christianity by a narrative of its achievements. He spent some time in Palestine, and resided a while in Corinth. But Rome was his constant aim. He knew that in the metropolis he would have the best facilities for historical investigation, and while there he completed his work, probably about the year 185. During his many journeys he was careful to visit the bishops and

¹ Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii, cap. 2, § 4; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, 11; Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.*, cap. 17.

² Semisch, *Justin der Märtyrer*, vol. i, p. 122; Purves, *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*, N. Y., 1889, p. 9.

³ Semisch, *Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten des M. Justinus*, Hamb., 1884.

⁴ Piper, *Reisen der Kirchenväter*, in *evang. Jahrb.* f. 1861, p. 42.

the societies, in both the East and the West, and he testifies to the identity of teaching everywhere. Julius Africanus, for the preparation of his Chronography, made extensive journeys. In Alexandria he devoted himself to the study of the antiquities for which that city was famous; for thither had come, as to London, Paris, and Berlin in our day, the literary treasures of all lands. One of the fruits of his research was Manetho's Catalogue of the Kings of Egypt, which, with other valuable records, he took away with him. Julius made the journey to Ararat in the interest of his science, and identified it as the place where the ark rested. He visited the Dead Sea, and located the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, and we next hear of him in Rome, applying to the Emperor Elagabalus, in the year 222, to rebuild the Jewish town of Nicopolis.

HEGESIPPUS
AND OTHER
AFRICANUS AS
TRAVELLERS.

Clement of Alexandria, a convert from paganism to Christianity, in his long and persevering search for the truth, was a diligent traveler in three continents. Origen appears to have visited every part of the Christian world. If his usefulness was interfered with in Alexandria or Palestine it seems to have given him no concern. He followed the tide of his disciples in some new direction, or responded to a call to Arabia once and again, to Athens, or to Antioch, and with an audience of eager listeners before him, and with at least some of his treasures of ancient learning, gathered from many lands, about him, he took up his work where he had been interrupted, and continued it to the close. All of his works bear traces of his long and varied journeys, while his great triumph of textual criticism, the Hexapla, which occupied twenty-seven years, shows his residence in Palestine and constant utilization of the Hebrew sources.

CLEMENT A
TRAVELER IN
THREE CON-
TINENTS.

With the council of Nice, and the subsequent frequency of general and provincial ecclesiastical assemblies, there was less personal communication between the various parts of the Church in the interest of unity of polity and doctrine. For the purposes of Christian scholarship there was little decline during the fourth century. Athanasius did not need to make journeys in the interests of Christianity, for he was five times an exile, and his whole life gave proof of how far one can use even banishment, as his in Treves, to advance the cause of Christian truth and evangelization. Rufinus studied the monastic life by personal observation among the Nitrian monks.

FOR PURPOSES
OF SCHOLAR-
SHIP THE TRAV-
ELING WAS
EXTENSIVE
AND INTO FAR
REGIONS.

Jerome was an ideal traveler in the interest of sacred learning.¹ He was not content to surround himself with the manuscripts

¹ Martin, *Life of St. Jerome*, Lond., 1888; pp. 9, ff.

of a former period and to lead the life of a recluse. He must go where the Bible was written, and study its idiomatic construction from those who knew it best. He located himself in Palestine, and employed as his special teacher in Hebrew a Jew, who, lest the Christians might take offense, was to come to him by night and give him instruction. In order to understand the peculiar idiom of Paul, in some parts of his epistles, Jerome visited Cilicia, where he, in the apostle's native province, gained familiarity with the provincialisms imbedded in his speech.¹ It cannot occasion surprise that, with such pains to arrive at the fundamental meaning of the Hebrew and the Greek, Jerome should have contributed such wealth to the textual theology of his times that, as commentator, he easily stands at the head of the Latin Church in his day, and that to his patient and thorough scholarship we still owe the Vulgate of the Christian world.

The justification which he gave for his journeys as a necessity for the cultivation of his great science might well have been written by Tischendorf, after his first ecstatic view of the Sinaitic Codex in St. Catherine's Convent: "As the history of the Greeks is better understood by him who has seen Athens, and Vergil's third book by him who has sailed from the Troad to Sicily, and from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, so do the Holy Scriptures become clearer to him who has seen Judea with his own eyes, and has made himself acquainted with the recollections of the old cities and the names of the places, whether they are the same or have been changed. Therefore I had it in heart to undertake this work in connection with the most learned Jews, so that I have wandered through the country from which all the Churches of Christ take their tone."²

During the following period there was a general decline in the disposition to travel, and, so far as a desire expressed itself to promote fraternal relations between the different parts of the Church by personal communication, nearly all traces had disappeared by the middle of the fifth century. The prominence of the patriarchates produced individuality in the Eastern Churches, while the growing supremacy of Rome made her relation with the other parts of the general Church less definite and satisfactory. To the council was now left much of the pleasant work of fraternity which had before proceeded from the spontaneous love of the individual and the societies.

¹ For example: Col. ii, 18, *μηδὲς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύω.*

² Prefat. in Libr. Paralipom. juxta LXX, opp., tom. x, p. 431.

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

THE catacombs beneath the hills of Rome reveal nearly all the chief creations of the earliest Christian art. Only a few of the churches which the Christians were hopeful enough to build before Christianity was tolerated by Constantine yet remain, and so varied is the patchwork that it is difficult to tell what part of these venerable structures belongs to the second and third centuries and what part was added after the Christians knew that their buildings could no more be torn down by pagan mobs. In those still fewer churches which have undergone no change, as that of St. Petronilla, newly discovered beneath a field near Rome, by De Rossi, in 1874,¹ there exist only enough of the fragmentary walls to designate the general design of the structure. Because the catacombs were free from exposure, and because their purpose of sepulture shielded them from destruction, they have been the safe and somber conservators of the first endeavors of Christianity in the plastic arts. It is among the peculiar revenges of time that the very burial places of Christians, those suffering martyrdom as well as those dying a natural death, have survived the most of the magnificent palaces of their oppressors during ten persecutions.

CATACOMBS
THE CONSER-
VATORS OF THE
EARLIEST
CHRISTIAN
ARTS.

The Christians were led to employ the catacomb, or subterranean recess, as a place of burial for their dead, in part by the example of other people, but still more because the Roman laws granted perfect liberty of burial to all foreign faiths. It seems to have been assumed that when death came it was time to cease all opposition and permit the obsequies to take place after any fashion, however foreign to pagan taste. Only in modern times do we see illustrations of a *post-mortem* campaign against a foe, as when the dust of the martyred Huss was thrown out upon Lake Constance, and when Wycliffe's dust was taken from its grave in Lutterworth and sprinkled upon the Avon. That the Christians should bury their dead, rather than burn them, which was the existing Roman usage, was in conformity with their Jewish antecedents, and, indeed, with the

REASON FOR
THE CATA-
COMB AS A
PLACE OF
CHRISTIAN
BURIAL.

¹ See De Rossi, *Bullettino* No. I, 1874.

pagan custom of the simpler and better times. All of the Semite peoples, in whose mind lay an intense belief in the resurrection of the human body, had employed burial rather than cremation. The tombs of the kings, with their splendor of ornament and embalmment beneath the mountains bordering on the Thebaid, show how repugnant to the Egyptian spirit was every measure which was calculated to abridge the material existence of the human body. In Greece neither cremation nor burial was the uniform custom, the people adopting one mode at one period and afterward substituting for it the other. In Italy the ancient Etruscans buried their dead, and at the entrance to their exhumed burial places the remains of their knights have been found, clad in complete armor.

The Romans of the republic adopted the same custom of burial, and it was only after the empire was adopted that they burned their dead and inclosed the ashes in an urn.¹ But so strongly rooted in the Roman mind was the preference for burial that we find from the sarcophagi in the monument of the Scipios, before the Porta Capena of Rome, now within the walls, that the older Roman families still adhered to the early usage.² The graves of the Nasos, four Italian miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia, consist of chambers hewn in the tufa, with horizontal niches for the bodies, in precisely the same way as the Christian catacombs.³ A large number of these niches, arranged in rows, and containing the ashes of the family, gave the name columbarium, or dovecote, to the burial place.

The Jewish population in Rome was large, and they made use of the catacomb, after the manner of their fathers. At first, we must suppose it rude, as an opening in the hillside, or a hollow made beneath a shelving rock, but later, because of the example of Christians, the Jewish burial place became a faint approach to the Christian catacomb. There is a Jewish catacomb on the Appian Way, opposite the Christian catacomb of San Sebastiano, while there is another nearer Rome, in the Randanini Vineyard.⁴ The galleries are much the same, only less ornate and regular, as those of the Christian catacombs. The Jewish type is everywhere revealed by Hebrew symbolism, and especially by the seven-branched candlestick.⁵

There were differences, however, between the pagan and the

BURIAL OF THE
DEAD PRE-
FERRED TO
BURNING BY
THE ROMANS.

JEWISH USE
OF THE CATA-
COMB IN
ROME.

¹ Kraus, *Roma Sotteranea*, 2d., pp. 61, f.

² Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vii, 55.

³ Bartoli, *Le Pitture antiche del sepolchro de' Nasoni*, tom. ii, p. 9.

⁴ Kraus, *Roma Sotteranea*, p. 63.

⁵ Garucci, *Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei*, Roma, 1862.

Christian catacomb. The graves of the Scipios were devoid of that regularity which we find in every catacomb of the Christians. There was no precision in the making of the niches in the walls where the coffins were laid, and often the recesses were rough, devoid of ornament, and only partially and irregularly cut out of the rock.

DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN THE
PAGAN AND
THE CHRIS-
TIAN CATACOMBS.

Further, the pagan burial place was destined for one family, and when the members had died, and their bodies had been interred, the place was permanently closed. The Christian catacomb was not limited to one family, but was for any member of the household of faith. The brotherhood in life was continued even in death, and the poor and the rich lay beside each other in those calm recesses far beneath the din of busy life and the sound of the footfall of the generations. The resemblance between the Christian and the pagan burial, however, is striking enough to show that this mode of disposing of their dead was not new to the Christians of Rome, and even of Sicily and Alexandria. The pagans in their more primitive times had been examples of the custom, while the Old Testament Scriptures abounded in evidences of its being the only mode of disposing of the dead known to the one Semitic people from whom the Messiah had come.

But the Christians, as was their wont with everything pagan and foreign which they touched, transformed the catacomb from a somber and repulsive abode of the dead into a church, a theology, and a home. The scope which they gave to the construction of the catacomb, and the rich and varied fulness with which they clothed its ornamentation, prove their sense of security in every stroke of the pick, the chisel, and the brush. The ten tables of Roman law forbade burial within the city inclosure, which was the old wall of Servius Tullius, and there is no trace to this day of there having been a catacomb within the walls of Aurelian or Honorius. They were compelled, therefore, if they would bury their dead, to secure a place outside the walls. Here, too, they were perfectly secure. They might build a palace beneath ground, and store it with untold wealth; if only it had a relation to sepulture, in the eye of the Roman law it was safe. As Charles V said to the cruel Alva, when the two stood beside the grave of Luther, in the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg, they made "war on the living, and not on the dead."

CHEERFUL
CHARACTER OF
CHRISTIAN
CATACOMBS.

No private burial place in Rome could be alienated, whatever might be the inducement. Whenever a villa and the large grounds were sold the cemetery belonging to the family was not

¹ Cicero, De Legibus, ii, 24.

alienated. This place where the dead reposed, whether only the handful of ashes in a little urn or the slowly decomposing body, was held to be something too precious for commerce. For this reason the tourist in Rome frequently reads, even at this late date, on the monuments which have come down to the present time, "H. M. H.

Ex. T. N. S." [Hoc monumentum heredes ex testamento ne sequatur]. This protection of the places devoted to the departed was in harmony with the general reverence which pagan peoples bestowed upon the deceased. He who neglected to pay proper respect to his near relatives was regarded as unworthy of confidence. The ancestral worship which has for ages obtained in China and some other oriental nations had, in this way, its type in the pagan nations which flourished and passed away around the shores of the Mediterranean. In Athens it was a law that candidates for the highest offices, whose fathers were dead, must furnish tangible proof that they had paid all proper respect to them at the time of their death and burial.¹ The attention which Christians bestowed upon their dead, therefore, was by no means offensive to the pagan mind. On the contrary, the fidelity with which they celebrated the anniversaries of their honored men, and the fidelity with which they visited the burial places, and ornamented them with the most touching symbols of their faith, could only have commended the Christians to their pagan contemporaries.

The modern discovery of the Roman catacomb took place on a May day in 1578, when some workmen in a field along the Via Salaria came across a mysterious opening in the earth, which led to the finding of passages, historical frescoes, Greek and Latin inscriptions, and several sarcophagi. That was the hour when subterranean Rome took its place with the city on the seven hills, as a great storehouse of Christian science, whose riches even yet have not been fully explored. Now and then the searcher for pagan antiquities and the priestly devotee to saintly relics had, each from his own point of view, found his way into some of the more approachable parts of several catacombs. But as the former saw little to remind him of classic art and architecture he attached no importance to the crude and dark burial places of the first Christians, while the devout Roman Catholic wandered about as in a spacious sepulcher, being in quest of such relics as might add to the ardor of his faith. Both were wanting in that acute sense which saw in the catacomb a highly scientific

¹ Xenophon, Memorabilia, ii, § 13.

quality; which in time was to throw a flood of new light on the Christian Church of the Persecution.

The references in the Fathers of the post-Nicene age to the burial places of Christians, beneath the environs of Rome, had been familiar during all later centuries, and yet had awakened no profound interest.¹ Jerome relates that, when he was a schoolboy in Rome, he and some of his companions went down frequently into the graves and looked at the dust of the martyrs; that they wandered through the long passages and caverns and saw the bodies on either side, and that the darkness was so profound that his boyish imagination was strangely excited by the scene, so that he could not help thinking of the words of David, "Let them go down quick into hell,"² and of the words of Vergil, "Terror surrounds me, even the silence itself is horrible."³

JEROME'S EXPERIENCE IN THE CATACOMBS WHILE YET A BOY.

But all the references of the early writers, and the occasional explorations of later times, had no effect in exciting Christian scholarship to the value of the first Christian burial places. The discovery of the workmen was less a revelation than an incident which called new attention to a fact long familiar to the Christian mind. When the discovery was made the boy was three years old who was destined to create the science of the historical study of the catacombs and to elevate it to its present importance as a vast and ever-enlarging department of monumental theology.

DISCOVERY OF THE CATACOMBS BY SOME WORKMEN.

This was Antonio Bosio. From the time when his mind began to expand the study of the catacombs absorbed all his thought. He was a participant in that memorable revival of historical and general literature which seized Rome, as a reaction produced by the Reformation in the northern countries of Europe. No difficulty was too great for him. One catacomb after another was opened through his remarkable energy. After devoting himself thirty years to this one study he died in the year 1629, before the publication of his great work, the *Roma Sotteranea*. Only the first installment appeared in the year 1632, but it achieved a great triumph and added a new science to the theology of Christendom.

ANTONIO BOSIO.

John Evelyn, who visited Rome in the year 1645, and Bishop

¹ There is complete absence of any reference to the catacombs in the Fathers of the ante-Nicene age. Jerome and Prudentius are the only ancient writers who mention them. See Schaef, II, 287.

² Psalm Iv, 15.

³ Com. in Ez., ch. 40. See Prudentius, Peristephanon, hymn 4.

Burnet, who made a sojourn there forty years later, were the first writers to reveal to the English world the extent and even partial significance of the Christian catacombs.

JOHN EVELYN
AND BISHOP
BURNET.

But both these writers failed to grasp the full extent of the real importance of the catacombs. Burnet declared they were nothing more than the holes mentioned by Festus Pompeius, where the lowest slaves of the Romans were put and allowed to die. Burnet further says: "The discovery of the catacombs has supplied them [the Roman Catholics] with an inexhaustible magazine of bones, which by all appearances are no other than the

BURNET'S ESTI-
MATE OF THE
SMALL VALUE
OF THE CATA-
COMBS.

bones of pagan Romans which are now sent over the world to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the bones of the Roman slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in silver and gold, with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the world." Burnet held that the vast extent of the catacombs proved that they were not excavated by the Christians. And how could they hold services amid the stench of decaying flesh and stifling atmosphere of those underground tombs? He argues well, but later research has brought to light a multitude of new facts.

Still later writers have been divided in opinion as to whether the catacomb was an excavation where only the Christian peasantry could bury their dead,¹ or that they were, more than anything else, a place where superstition derived a convenient market place for the deposition and sale of holy bones.² But the day has passed when

THE CATA-
COMB NOW
FULLY UNDER-
STOOD.

either view has its advocates. The catacomb is now fully understood, first through the foundation laid by Bosio, and later by the temple reared upon it by De Rossi; so that we now understand its original design, the process of its growth in a time of sorrow, the place which it occupied in the thought of the patristic Church, and its bearing upon Christian science and faith in all later periods.

The early Christian attached a remarkable value to martyrdom. Here was a point on which all agreed, both schismatic and Catholic. The magnitude of voluntary death for the faith was, in fact, the vital question which underlay the greatest schisms of the second and third centuries, the separatists making the ground of their dis-

¹ Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, Edinb., 1752, pp. 161-172.

² Misson, A. New Voyage to Italy, Lond., 1714, pp. 1, 166.

³ Fehmel, De Catacombis, Leipz., 1713.

integrating movement the moderate view of suffering for the faith which they alleged to be entertained by the general Church. When the martyr died the place where his soul took its departure for heaven—for he, without a question, escaped the hadæan ordeal—was regarded as hallowed ground. It was marked as a place worthy of perpetual remembrance. Here the Christians met, when persecution ceased, and built rude structures, and worshiped, and were careful to bear in mind the natal days of the martyrs by special services. As a rule the body was not denied the care of friends. It was no longer of value to a foe, and hence could easily be given to those who were desirous of performing the rites of burial. When the request of Joseph of Arimathea for the body of Jesus was granted it was simply a compliance with a universal usage even among the heathen. Later, when a Christian was put to death, the body, or, in case of burning, the ashes, were granted to friends as a privilege which common propriety could not deny. These remains were interred on the spot where the Christian had suffered martyrdom.

Hence the spot had a twofold claim to the love of the Church, for it was not only the place where a hero had suffered death, but what was left of his suffering body now lay beneath the place where his soul had ascended to the Church triumphant. Here a church was built, generally named after the saint, where special solemnities could be observed, particularly on memorial days. The place of martyrdom being regarded as holy ground, the tendency soon arose to make use of the spaces about the church as a place of burial for those who had not suffered martyrdom. Wither, amid the sublime associations of the martyrdom of some great servant of the Church, and beneath the walls of a church to his memory, it seemed fitting that Christians should bring their dead and have the privilege of frequent visitation to the place, and then, at last, of taking their own places in those silent and narrow niches.¹ Later, when Christianity had become a permitted religion, and still more after the death of Julian, when the empire was under the control of emperors who were Christian in name, the catacomb having served its chief purpose as both a place of burial and of worship, the churches were of greater architectural splendor, and beneath them was the crypt containing the remains of the martyr. The crypt, therefore, was the creation, in an easier and more artistic age, of the catacomb of an earlier and severer time.

¹ Comp. Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte der ersten Sechshundert Jahre*, 3d ed., pp. 394, f.

The visit to the catacomb is the nearest approach possible, in these later times, to the church of the first three centuries. One descends, as in the case of the most notable of all, that of St. Callistus, through a side door in the church, by a long stairway, until he finds himself in one of the larger and longer passages. He now comes to a wider space, which once served as a chapel of some wealthy Roman Christian, where the place for altar and priest and worshiper are still distinctly traceable, and where the surrounding empty niches once contained the dust of the members of the family. Then he reaches a humbler space, where the poorer were laid away by their friends, and where the ornamentation was less costly and attractive. On either side of the winding passages are rows of niches, each only long enough to contain a body, and the horizontal rows of niches rising in a system of regular tiers. Some of the sarcophagi, as that of Iunius Bassus, of the year 339, contained exquisite reliefs, but the most of these precious tombs have been removed, while the inscriptions on the walls and rich symbolical figures can now be seen to advantage only in the museum of St. John Lateran and other rich collections of Rome. Some of the minor treasures have wandered into other countries, especially to the Christian museum of the Berlin University, but their meagerness only adds to the thirst of the student for the Roman masterpieces.

The extent of these labyrinths for the dead is a matter of conjecture only. De Rossi, the best judge, supposes the total length of the passages to be four hundred and eighty Italian miles,¹ which is the length of the whole Italian peninsula. EXENT OF THE CATACOMBS NOT YET FULLY KNOWN. Marchi estimates the extent to be a third larger. It is not likely that all the catacombs have been disclosed. As late as 1848 the magnificent catacomb of Prætextatus was discovered, while even since then, in 1874, De Rossi discovered the basilica of St. Petronilla, which had lain in utter darkness since the Mirabilia of Francesco Albertino, in 1510, but which has proved of great importance for our present knowledge of early Christian art. In proportion as new light is thrown upon the classic period of Rome there is abundant reason to expect equally valuable additions to our knowledge of the Church in its double endeavor for a safe place of worship and a resting place for its dead.²

¹ One hundred and twenty geographical miles, or eight hundred and seventy-six kilometers. The number of the graves is estimated at from four to seven millions, no doubt a gross exaggeration. See Schaff, ii, 295, note 1.

² On the catacombs as a place of refuge and worship, to which secondary use they were undoubtedly put, see Mailland, *The Church in the Catacombs*,

No approach to the number of inscriptions, paintings, and carvings which have been taken from the catacombs can be made with safety. In the Lateran Museum, on the sarcophagi alone, are two hundred and seventy-six scriptural carvings, and when we remember that carving bore only a small proportion to the frescoes, and that the inscriptions were far more abundant than either, the difficulty of approximating the number of the treasures already taken from the catacombs will be very apparent.

WEALTH OF
THE LATERAN
MUSEUM.

To see the full significance of the art of the catacomb we must combine all its departments. Beginning with the rudest figures of the first tyros, and coming down to the most elaborate and finished productions of the last artists, whose colors were yet damp when the West Goths plundered Rome, in the year 410, and the catacombs ceased henceforth to serve their original purpose and became practically closed to the scholarship of the world for eleven centuries, we have a variety and number of monumental objects that seem to elude all attempts at classification and minute interpretation. But this difficulty, on more careful examination, disappears, and the abundance of objects only enriches our information concerning their design and its relation to the general life and faith of the Church.

THE CATA-
COMBS CLOSED
FOR ELEVEN
CENTURIES.

Many subjects of pictorial representation in the catacombs show the familiarity of the Christian mind at this early day with the Scriptures which constitute our canon. We do not need to be told by Melito of Sardis what books of the Old Testament the Christians regarded as canonical. We can read the same record in the reliefs in stone tombs and on the tufa walls of subterranean Christian Rome. We tell around what books of both the older and the later Scripture the fervent and heroic faith of the Christians of the first three centuries crystallized, as the inspired record for the Church of the better day, when the Church of the cavern should become the Church of the noonday. There are pictorial representations, in stone and fresco, of every part of the Old Testament, such as the creation of Eve, the apostasy in Eden, Noah in the ark, the offering of Isaac, Moses taking off his shoes, the translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den, and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace.

LIGHT FROM
THE CATA-
COMBS ON THE
SCRIPTURAL
CANON.

Lond., 1846, pp. 27-35. Maitland was first allowed to copy the inscriptions in the Lapidarian gallery, but on account of a quarrel between the Jesuits and the officers of the Vatican this permission was withdrawn after a month, the sturdy Englishman, however, refusing to give up the copies of the inscriptions he had already made. See p. 8, note.

On the sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum the history of Jonah, probably because of the parallel between that prophet and the hard fate, but final preservation, of the Church of the time, was more frequently treated than any other subject.

The New Testament furnished many themes for treatment. The birth of Christ, with the ox and the ass, the feeding of the multitude, the restoration of the blind man, the changing of water into wine at Cana, the raising of Lazarus, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, Christ before Pilate, Christ as lawgiver, and the crowning with thorns, are some of the principal subjects in the sculptures on the sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum. In the frescoes there was such a rich variety of treatment of scriptural themes that one may safely say that nothing essential was omitted. Those tufa walls, with surface of stucco, were converted into one great panorama of the Bible, from Genesis to the Apocalypse. The artist seems to have followed his own fancy or to have carried out what was a matter of taste with the family who wished to honor their dead by illuminating the burial place with scriptural pictures. Among the Old Testament subjects of painting were Adam and Eve, the visions of paradise, Cain and Abel, Joseph the patriarch, the crossing of the Red Sea, Samson, David and his sling, and various articles from the interior of the temple. From the New Testament the parables and miracles were favorite themes with the painter. Such subjects as indicated a better future, a happier day, as the growth of the grain cast by the sower into good ground, and the ever-growing vine, were preferred to others of darker significance.

One cannot look upon these expressive memorials of the earliest Christian art without being convinced that the Church of the first three centuries was not only thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures, and that it completed its collection of the canon at a very early date, but that its mind was imbued with an intense love of the Bible and a perception of an acquaintance with every part as a necessity for every class of believers. The Christian catacomb was the first Bible society. The manuscripts were utilized with great industry, but even the burial caverns served to compensate for the darkness and heavy atmosphere by the bright pictures which they bore, and which might gladden and strengthen in both worship and sorrow. The teaching of the Church in those dark days commended the reading of the Scriptures and the daily committing to memory of some portion. Jerome, in giving precisely this advice, merely reflected the general emphasis of the Fathers upon an accurate and full knowledge of the

NEW TESTA-
MENT THEMES
IN THE CATA-
COMBS.

THE CHRISTIAN
CATACOMB A
BIBLE SOCIETY
IN ITSELF.

Old and New Testament Scriptures.¹ A frequent object, in both the sculptures and frescoes of the catacombs, was the scroll, in a cistus, either held in the hand of an apostle, most frequently Paul, or lying at his feet. Where two scrolls lie before a figure above a tomb, which is frequently the case, the meaning is that the deceased made no difference between the Old and New Testament, but accepted them both as the equal and inspired word of God.

In some of the tombs of the catacombs small caskets of gold or grosser metal have been found, which contained a portion of one of the gospels, and were placed about the neck of the deceased.² The contrast between the accurate knowledge of the Scriptures by the Romans of the first Christian centuries and their present ignorance, and between the pains taken by the clergy of that time to educate the common people and the persistent hostility to the circulation of the Bible by the Italian priesthood of the nineteenth century, may be regarded as one of the saddest retrogressions in ecclesiastical history. The very catacomb rises as a witness against the intentional and continued hiding of the word of God from the people.³

PROOF IN THE
CATACOMBS OF
THE FAMILIAR-
ITY OF EARLY
CHRISTIANS
WITH THE
SCRIPTURES.

The symbolism of the catacombs reflects also the apologetic and orthodox elements in the prevailing theology. There is no trace of skepticism or deviation from the standards in the whole range of the earliest subterranean Church. Only those who were thorough believers in the fundamental doctrines of the Bible seem to have shared that peculiar privilege of membership in the Church of the catacombs. Not only is the general faith of the deceased expressed in the ornamentation of the grave by the imagery of art, but that fervent and adoring type of Christian devotion which made the Christian religion the very passion of the heart.

SYMBOLISM OF
THE CATACOMBS
TEACHING
CHRISTIAN
DEFENCE AND
ORTHODOXY.

¹ Epist. ad Nepotian. 7: Divinas Scripturas sapius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. Epist. ad Demetrian., 15: Statue quot horis sanctam scripturam ediscere debeas quanto tempore legere, non ad laborem, sed ad delectationem et instructionem. Epist. ad Eustach., 19: Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de Scripturis sanctis quotidie aliquid discere.

² Hemans, History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy, p. 572, f., and note.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 572. Hemans calls attention to this inconsistency. This author, who in his youth became a Romanist, had returned to the Church of England.

The center of the faith of those days, as in all the later times, was Christ. Either by name or rude figure he was everywhere present in the catacombs. No grave was so richly ornamented as to be without some symbolical reminder of him, while even the humblest, if it possessed nothing more, had at least the fish, which, in Greek, constituted the monogram of Christ. The fish and the anchor, in conjunction, first appear in the year 234, while the monogram of Christ in Greek letters appears in 291.¹ He was everywhere remembered, whether in the elaborate chapel or in the cragiest of the early symbols beside the niche where the child of the sorrowing poor was laid to rest. Sometimes even familiar pagan suggestions were introduced to teach the universal kingship of Jesus. Three representations of Christ as Orpheus have been found, two by Bosio, found in the catacomb of St. Domitilla, and one by De Rossi in that of St. Callisto. In the two former he sits between two trees, crowned with a Phrygian cap and playing upon a lyre. Beasts, both tame and wild, hear his notes, and come thronging about him, charmed and overcome by the melody. Doves, peafowls, horses, sheep, serpents, tortoises, a dog, and a hare at a lion's feet hear the music from the lyre, and mingle together in Edenic simplicity and peace. Christ was here the symbol of universal empire. All enemies must yield to him and live in peace.²

It was a beautiful illustration of the disposition, in the Christian art of Rome as in the theology of Alexandria, to make even the heathen world contribute its wealth to the glory of Christ. Theseus slaying the Minotaur was made a type of David slaying Goliath. Parallels were everywhere sought and easily found. Other notable warriors were introduced, precisely as they appear on the coins and in the statuary that have survived until our day, but with additional symbolism to indicate the adaptation to the spiritual life of the Christian. One figure, gilt on glass and dating from the end of the fourth century, represents our Lord with radiated head, holding the globe of universal sovereignty in his hand, while at his feet lay the cistus, containing the gospel scroll. The Trinity, a theme of profound interest and discussion during the Arian excitement, was symbolized in such way as to express an equality of the persons of the Godhead. De Rossi, however, furnishes seven examples of firm faith in this doctrine of the Trinity long anterior to the beginning

¹ Hemans, History, p. 580, f. $\Upsilon\chi\theta\iota\varsigma$, fish, consisting of the initials of $\Upsilon\eta\sigma\upsilon\varsigma \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\Upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\Sigma\alpha\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\rho$ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.)

² Kraus, Roma Sotteranea, p. 231.

of the fourth century, where the monogram of Christ is combined with the triangle.¹

The representations of our Lord were of the cheerful and hopeful type. That part of his life which related to his sufferings was seldom treated. The cross, in all the early period of art in the catacombs, was carefully avoided.² The place itself, the home for the lifeless, was in itself a sufficient crucifixion, without further reminder. Jesus was not represented in his passion, but in the safer and more peaceful periods of his life. Only twice among the sculptures of the sarcophagi of the Lateran Museum is he represented during the final scenes, and then only before Pilate, and, later, crowned with thorns. He everywhere appears as the Good Shepherd. In every stage of the development of the catacomb the figure of the shepherd, with a lamb thrown across his shoulders, and feet held by the shepherd's hands, greeted the eye. The tenderness of the friend in the darkness of the grave is contrasted with the hostility of kings who lived in palaces.

SYMBOLISM
OF CHRIST
WERE OF
CHEERFUL
TYPE.

In exquisite harmony with this constant portrayal of our Lord as the world's friend, making sacrifices for its salvation, is the universal spirit of peace and love which pervades the entire symbolism of the catacombs. "In Pace" was one of the first, as it continued to be one of the last, legends everywhere placed about the tombs. In spite of the storms that beat above the surface there was below nothing but the sublime calm of the soul at rest with God. Martyrs there were, in numbers now difficult to learn, but there is great reserve in the portrayal of suffering, both that of Christ and his followers. The record of martyrdom was studiously avoided, not only that the Christian might give no indication of disputing the "divine pre-eminence of the Man of Sorrows,"³ but that, as we think more probable, the Christian so abounded in love that he was not willing to show, even by figures on the wall of a tomb, that he remembered the agony which a persecuting hand had produced. He was not willing that any later eye should see a line or a symbol that would indicate a lurking spirit of revenge.⁴

PEACE AND
HARMONY
EVERYWHERE
TAUGHT.

Death had no terror to the Christian. He was not inclined to surround it with the environment of bitterness and pain. It was, to him, only the bright pathway to the certain and blessed home.

¹ Hemans, History, p. 574.

² Hagenbuch, Kirchengeschichte der ersten Sechshundert Jahre, p. 327.

³ Hemans, History, p. 579.

⁴ Raoul-Rochette, Prem. Mém. sur les Antiquités chrétiennes, p. 74, f.

Hence he surrounded the grave with images of beauty, peace, and joy. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this rule. Maitland gives this translation of one: "In Christ Alexander is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. He lived under the Emperor Antonine, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good.

MAITLAND'S
TRANSLATION
OF AN INSCRIPTION.

For while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns [from which it is inferred that he was praying in the catacombs when arrested], afford no protection to us. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? When they could not be buried by their friends and relatives—at length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived who has lived in Christian times."¹ That the Christians sometimes indulged in stern imprecations unlike the meekness of their Master is seen from the following inscription: "If anyone violate this sepulcher, let him perish miserably, lie unburied, and not arise, but have his lot with Judas."² But this inscription was probably after the times of the persecution. It was only after the last persecution was ended and the authors had taken their places in the oblivion of obloquy that any symbol of suffering was to be found in a Roman catacomb. The martyrdom of St. Sébastien, preserved in a small terra cotta relief, dates from the sixth century, while the representation of the sawing asunder of Isaiah by two executioners, pressed on a glass cup, does not date earlier than the fourth century.³ But images of peace and plenty everywhere abound, as if the Christians were living in palaces and kings were their servants. The hare, feeding on grapes; the luxuriant palm tree; the vase of flowers; the loaf of bread, reminding of the agapæ; and the dove, with the olive branch in its beak, are only a few of this endless variety of beautiful and peaceful types of life.⁴

IMAGES OF
PEACE AND
PLENTY.

Occasionally a clear ray is thrown by the symbolism of the catacombs on the early history of the Church. For example, an epitaph in the cemetery of St. Domitilla, dating from the first century, shows the early entrance of Christianity into the imperial household, and that no mercy was shown the Christian, whether

¹ For the original of this and other epitaphs in which the fact of martyrdom is not concealed, see the Roman Catacombs, pp. 32, 33, 127-129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ Hemans, *History*, p. 579.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

as servant or empress. Christianity gave early attention to the uprooting of slavery, and its success was prompt and thorough. So completely was the evil eradicated that of the eleven thousand epigraphs from the catacombs, which extend from the first century to the sixth, scarcely six, and two of these doubtful, contain any allusion to the evil, and then only in brief and simple language. Not even the clank of the slave's chain was heard in those calm retreats of the peaceful soul and the resting body.

THE EPIGRAPH
REVEALING
EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

The worship of the Virgin Mary is not sustained by the testimony of the catacombs.¹ Only in the later symbolism, when the Church was passing into its long midnight of superstition, do we find traces of divine honor paid to her. The very language of the inscriptions indicates the progress of the Church from simpler to a more artificial life.

MARIOLATRY
NOT SUSTAINED
BY THE CATACOMBS.

All the early epitaphs were brief and nervous, the quick breathings of the stricken soul in its moment of supreme agony, when a violent hand might smite again and bring the weeper and the lamented into the sudden companionship of death. "In Pace" was most frequently written with the monogram of the Holy name beneath. This example is from the Barberina Museum in Naples :

BEAUTY AND
FORCE OF THE
INSCRIPTIONS.

In Pace



Then came, later, the addition of such affectionate words as "To the dearest Mother," "To the sweetest Child," "Peace to thy spirit," "God raise thy soul," or some such brief expression of affection. Later, however, when the Church had gained great wealth, and its forms were becoming more ritualistic, and the catacomb was used solely as a cemetery, without any thought of refuge from persecution, the epitaphs became fulsome and rhetorical pan-

¹ Shahan has put forth a little book, *The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs*, Baltimore, 1892, written in a delightful spirit, in which he traces the occasions in which Mary is the subject of illustration. But he uses the word catacombs in a wide sense, and his evidence of any veneration in the Roman sense is very slight. Most of the instances are the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi. There is no Mary-cult in the early Church, Shahan's beautiful little volume itself being witness. See the remarks of Dean Milman in his great essay on Pagan and Christian Sepulchers at Rome, in *Savonarola and Other Essays*, Lond., 1870, pp. 494-498, reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1865. As Milman says, the catacomb representations of the Virgin could be reproduced without offense in any illustrated Protestant Bible.

egyriens. The following from Akra (Palazzuolo), in Sicily, is an example of the inflated style of showing affection to the deceased :

Here lies Marina
Who lived honorably and unblamably in this world
and went to the Lord at an age of 37 years,
paying her debt on the 24 December ; but she loved God,
don't injure my grave, and don't let the light in on me,
but if you will show me the light, may God
give thee the light of His wrath.¹

X

IXOYC

In another inscription, of a still later period, the year 533, the usual order of address is changed from the living to the dead, and the deceased clergyman is complimented as having been a faithful husband :

Te Levita parens soboles conjuxque fidelis,
Te mixtis lachrimis luget amata domus.²

Men are true to their theology in at least two places—their altar of prayer and the burial place of their dead. The catacomb served both these purposes, and it stands as a living witness against prayer for the dead. That beautiful epitaph, "Received to God," dating first from the year 217, but frequently repeated afterward, proves that the Church believed that the pure soul had passed through its ordeal here and had forever completed its trial. In the great compilation of De Rossi, comprising thirteen hundred and seventy-four different epitaphs, there is no example of prayer which refers to the state of the dead in the future life.³ The catacombs furnish very little support to the early existence of clerical celibacy. In fact, the custom was of later than patristic enforcement, and Gregory the Great was the

¹ For a full account of the progressive character of the inscriptions in the catacombs, see Piper, *Die Grab-Inschriften der alten christen. evangelischer Kalender für 1855*, pp. 28, ff.

² Comp. Hemans, *History*, p. 582, f.

³ Hemans, *History*, p. 582. Lee gives only three cases from the catacombs, and two of these are simply the common formula of well-wishing, *in pace*. The third is : "O Calanera, may God refresh thy soul, together with the soul of thy sister Hilara." This is placed by Luipi under Severus (see, pp. 24, 25). There are, however, other instances : "Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus ;" "May thy spirit rest well in God." (*Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed*, Lond., new ed., 1875. See Schaff, ii, 304.) There are also requests made by the living for intercession by the dead, as "*Ora pro parentibus*." But in the thousands of undated inscriptions before Constantine both forms of prayer are very rare.

first to coerce the subdeacons to observe it. Even at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries both subdeacons and deacons could enter into the married relation. In the following inscription, of the year 472, and found at St. Paul's, on the Ostian Way, the wife of a subdeacon, or deacon, thus addresses her surviving husband and children from the grave :

Levitæ conjunx Petroniæ forma pudoris
His mea deponens sedibus ossa loco.
Pareite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge nata.

It is not likely that such an inscription would be allowed to proclaim the heresy of priestly marriage had celibacy been a legacy of either the apostolic or patristic period.

The catacombs furnish many interesting glimpses into the simple faith and life of the Church. In those epitaphs expressive of the tender ties of affection one can see how complete the revolution was from the dwelling place of the Roman idolater to the home of the Christian. The relationships of the earthly life were regarded by the Christian as only the anticipations of the companionship of the immortal life. As Christians sat together at their own table, and satisfied their hunger by earthly food, so when they buried their dead and worshiped in the catacombs they made the Lord's Supper the great central fact in their service. This part of the practice of Christians is represented in many different symbols in all the catacombs. They prove that, at all worship, except the evening and night vigils, the Lord's Supper was celebrated, both before Constantine and in the age succeeding his reign. Of the small place which Mariolatry occupied in the practice of the early Church the catacomb gives undesigned evidence in the fact that the word never occurs, and then only after Livia, until the year 381. Had it been the usage to pay divine honors to the mother of our Lord many Christians would have been named after her, and the name would have reappeared in the epitaphs of every catacomb. Hemans says very truly that, remembering how that sweet name has since, in most natural Christian preference, been given in many countries to males as well as females, must we not here perceive a tacit evidence—slight in itself, but significant in association with other elements of dissent, in view of such comparative neglect, from those who, long regards now encouraged toward her, the most blessed of women ever so called upon the earth? Withrow has paid special attention to this anti-Roman testimony and implications. But con-

THE CATACOMB
TEACHING THE
SIMPLE FAITH
AND LIFE OF
THE CHURCH.

troversy over these underground tombs is an unprofitable task, even if we were certain as to the date of the inscriptions, which is far from being the case. The catacombs reveal the immortal hope of the Christians and the simple elements of their faith. It is useless to look for indications of distinctively Protestant or Roman dogmas.¹

Stanley says that the paintings of the catacombs do not involve any of our modern disputed opinions. "But they indicate a difference deeper than any mere expression of particular doctrines.

DEAN STAN-
LEY.

They show that the current of early Christian thought ran into an altogether different channel, both from the contemporary writers of the early period, and also from the paintings and writings of the later period."² "In the Vatican Museum are two or three compartments of epitaphs under the head of 'illustrations of dogmas.' But there is only one doubtful example of any passage relating to a dogma controverted by any Christian Church."³

There are touches of tenderest poetry in these dark labyrinths, which, in their day, were the scene of a sorrow so deep that the Christian shrank from the thought of expressing it in sculpture on the tufa walls of the burial place of his beloved dead or companions in tribulation. "Natus," for example, is frequently used to indicate the day of baptism,⁴ as if the believer had never been born until his baptism by the divine Spirit. It strikes one strangely that the word "puer" should frequently appear in connection with mature men. But when we remember the perpetual hopefulness that beamed through the darkness of the catacomb, and that the long years rested but lightly on the Christian heart, the surviving daughter or widow or son could well call the deceased father or husband a "boy," in view of the immortal youth upon which he had entered.

The old Roman names had now passed away, and the epitaphs show a transition to those proper names, remarkable in the Hebrew history, and equally so in the Puritan depression, when a firm faith in God, and a recognition of his special deliverances in great need, appeared in the names which rejoicing parents gave their children. Such names as Adeodatus (given by God), Diodorus (God's gift), Fructuosus

¹ See some excellent remarks on this point in Schafl, *Church History*, ii, 306-310.

² *Christian Institutions*, Harper ed., p. 228.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242, note.

⁴ Hemans, *History*, p. 585.

(fruit-bringing), Renovatus (renewed), Anastassa (risen), Irene (peace), Sabbatia (holy day), and Concordia (harmony), with its variations, Cordius and Concordialis—all three of which were found in Treves—furnish beautiful evidence of how profound a religious sentiment reigned in the domestic life of the Christians of the first four centuries.

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Mosheim treats this subject in *Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine*. Ed. Murdock. N. Y., 1854. 2 vols. Vol. i, pp. 259-260, still of value for its solid treatment of topics for which adequate space was not found in the author's *Institutes of Church History*. See also Renan, *Marcus Aurelius*, ch. xxv.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE labors of the apostles in extending Christianity were continued by faithful successors. With the beginning of the second century a new stage was reached in the evangelizing efforts of the Church. The Jews had withdrawn more and more into that isolation which has marked their history during every subsequent period, and, as a basis for the origin of Christian societies in the countries about the Mediterranean, were nearly exhausted.

The further propagation of the Gospel was, first, among the pagan populations in close relationship with Rome, and, second, among the ruder tribes which now stood ready to satisfy their hunger by feasting on the dying empire. THE TWO
FIELDS OF
EXTENSION. The Gospel extended its power by virtue of the very forces used to destroy it. The frequent exiles had little effect to hush the voice of Christians who had been useful enough at home to be banished for the faith. When Athanasius was banished from Alexandria to northern Gaul not only did the young society in the latter country now have the presence of an heroic example, but the exile himself began his organizing work, and his influence was felt throughout the diocese of Treves, at that time the capital of Gaul, which extended as far eastward as the Rhine.¹ Christians multiplied in every direction. The failure of paganism to preserve its hold on the popular mind, and the adoption of Christianity by great numbers of citizens, produced a general loss of faith in the old divinities. No country was strong enough to sustain the popular religion. Christianity had penetrated everywhere. The style which the fathers employed to describe the success of the Gospel is somewhat boastful, but was fully warranted by the facts. Had they exaggerated its marvelous expansion their opponents could have refuted them immediately. On the contrary, the enemies of the Gospel admitted the fact and raised their voice against the insanity which had seized the people. Justin said: "There is no race of men, whether barbarians or Greeks, or by whatever appellation they may be designated, whether they wander in wagons or dwell in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Father and Creator of all things,

¹ Reynolds, Athanasius : His Life and Work, Lond., 1889, pp. 52-54.

in the name of the crucified Jesus."¹ Tertullian said: "We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled your empire—your cities, your islands, your castles, your towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies, your palace, your senate, your forum; your temples alone are left to you."²

Antioch was the center from which the light of the Gospel radiated westward through Asia Minor and eastward into the distant parts of Asia. The place where the followers of Jesus were first called Christians, it became the mother of missions from the Euxine Sea to the heart of China.³ Its prestige as an apostolical Church, having Peter as its founder, gave it an authority which was felt throughout Asia Minor and far to the eastward.

ANTIOCH THE
CENTER OF
PROPAGATION.

Jerusalem, as a center of power, had lost its hold, and its spiritual dominion was divided between Antioch and Alexandria. Cappadocia, and the entire coast of the Black Sea within the boundaries of Asia Minor, were visited at this period by the missionaries of the Gospel. Colchis, at the east end of the same sea, felt the touch of the new Christian life. Iberia, or Georgia, which had already been approached in apostolic times through the labors of Andrew, but whose Church had been crushed through King Adere, in the year 55, was again visited by the messengers of the truth. The legendary Clement, who was banished to the shores of the Black Sea by the emperor Trajan, was the means of beginning the recovery of the country to Christianity, while a pious woman, Nona, completed the evangelization. The king was converted to the new faith, became himself a teacher of Christianity for his people, and, about the year 325, wrote to Rome for teachers and preachers, who were sent out to Georgia and succeeded in leading the entire population to adopt Christianity.

To Armenia belongs the honor of being the first country which formally accepted Christianity as the popular religion.⁴ As early

ARMENIA FIRST
COUNTRY
EVANGELIZED.

as the middle of the second century it was reached by Christian influences, but the permanent conversion of the people was first brought about by Gregory, who received the name of Illuminator because he had succeeded in leading the people, who were fire worshipers, to accept the true light of the

¹ Dialog. cum Tryphon., p. 341.

² Apolog., c. xxxvii.

³ Neale, History of the Holy Eastern Church, Patriarchate of Antioch, p. i.

⁴ Iselmann, A Short History of the Georgian Church. Transl. by Mallan, pp. 10, ff.

⁵ Wiltseh, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 52.

Gospel.¹ King Tiridates became a Christian, and favored the extension of the new religion throughout his country. In the year 302 the Bishop Leontinus, of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, consecrated Gregory Bishop of Armenia, with the rank of patriarch. The Persians employed measures to prevent the spread of Christianity among the Armenians, and succeeded in burning all the Greek books of the Armenian Christians and substituting for them only Syrian books. The Byzantine empire, on the other hand, supported the Armenian Church, and brought about the creation of an Armenian Christian literature in the popular language. The basis of this new literature was, first of all, the invention of the Armenian alphabet by the monk Mesror, who, in connection with the patriarch Isaak and Moses Choronensis, translated the Bible into the Armenian tongue.²

By the third century Persia was penetrated by the Gospel. In Ctesiphon, the metropolis, there was a flourishing city, which became a point for the expansion of Christianity still farther in the East. A magian, by the name of Moleed, PERSIA. was converted to Christianity, and wrote a work in favor of Christianity, in which he attacked the doctrines of Zoroaster. He suffered martyrdom as a result of becoming a Christian about the year 300. Constantine commended the Christians to the protection of the Persian king, Sapor II, but as the Persians regarded it blasphemy to ascribe to the good God the creation of a nation having evil forces, and as the Christians were regarded as friends of Ahriman because they did not worship Ormuzd, and as political hostility to Rome was identical with religion, the Christians were severely persecuted. Under Sapor, in the year 343, a persecution began which continued forty years.³

The Persian persecutions were fiercer than the Roman. In the East even the apostates were cut down, while in the PERSECUTIONS
IN PERSIA. Roman empire they were spared. "The systematic persecutions of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian," says Görres, "were harmless in comparison with the attack upon Christianity by the State of the Sassaniden." The persecution did not cease until about 456, when the Church became Nestorian.⁴

¹ Malan, *Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, Lond., 1868. Malan was an enthusiastic student of Armenian Church history and liturgy, and did much to introduce the knowledge of this Church into England.

² Comp. *Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. i, s. 117, ff.; *Lehrbuch der Dogmen*, etc., de l'Église Arménienne, Paris, 1855.

³ Jacobi, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 208, ff.

⁴ Das Christenthum im Sassanidenreich, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1884, Heft 4.

In Edessa, the capital of the kingdom of Osrohene, in Mesopotamia, Christianity was very early established. The early legends attribute its evangelization to Abgar Uchomo, who was contemporaneous with Christ, but there is no historical support for this belief.¹ The twenty-sixth king of the Osrohœnian dynasty, who ruled from 152 to 187, if not positively a supporter of Christianity, was not hostile to it, and there is positive evidence that the Gnostic Bardesanes was of great influence over him. At the beginning of the third century, or in the year 202, the Christians possessed a church, which was swept away by the river Darzain, a stream in the northern part of the city, which overflowed by the winter rains. In the beginning of the fourth century the bishop Cono laid the foundation of a new and large church, which was completed during the episcopate of Saudes, his successor. Thirty years later the bishop Abraham built the Church of the Confessors, and in the year 371 the great baptistery was erected. Edessa became an important center of Christian learning. The Nestorian Christians who were compelled to leave the Roman empire took refuge here and laid the foundations of a rich and influential Syrian literature.²

The Church in Africa developed with great rapidity during the second and third centuries. Alexandria and Carthage were the two cities from which the Gospel was propagated with a zeal and power which were not surpassed in any part of the Christendom of the times. Alexandria, a metropolis of both commerce and classic learning, was a fountain of Christian truth. Thither men came from every part of the Delta, from the whole Kyrenaica, from the entire valley of the Nile as far up

ACTIVITY OF
THE AFRICAN
CHURCH.

¹ An interesting controversy has been carried on between two French scholars as to the origin of Christianity in Edessa. Tixerot, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse*, Paris, 1888, following Lipsius, claims that the Gospel "did not reach Edessa before A. D. 170, when the first missionaries had a Syriac translation of the gospels ready to put into the hands of their converts." Martin, on the other hand, in his work on *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse et des Eglises Syriennes*, Paris, 1889, says that Christianity came into Edessa through the Parthians who were at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and that it is highly probable that organized churches appeared here in the first century, according to the "ancient, unanimous, universal, and constant tradition." The Edessa Church itself claimed St. Thomas as its founder, and his body was said to have been brought here from India in A. D. 232. See Scott, in *Current Disc.*, vii, 144, 145. Eusebius says that Thomas sent Thaddæus to Christianize the Edesenes, H. E., i, 13. See McGiffert's ed., notes, pp. 100-102, and Chretien, *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity of Edessa*, Lond., 1864.

² Arnold, art. Edessa, in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie*, Bd. iii, s. 645, f.

as Philæ, and from Abyssinia, and returned, after having imbibed a deeper knowledge of the Gospel and spent their lives in advancing the cause of Christianity. The Church in that city enjoyed a rank next to apostolicity, having been founded in the name of St. Peter by his disciple Mark. In doctrinal questions Alexandria generally coincided with the other Eastern Churches, while Carthage, whose civilization was Roman, and whose language was the Latin, harmonized with the Western tendencies. Alexandria, as a patriarchate, comprised the entire territory of Egypt. The whole of proconsular Africa, including Getulia, Mauritania, and Numidia, whose western bounds were washed by the waves of the Atlantic, was evangelized in part through Roman and in part by Carthaginian Christians. The great number of bishops in the third century dependent on the exarchate of Carthage furnishes strong evidence of the extent to which Christianity had been propagated and its strong hold upon the people. At the synod of Labes, near Carthage, in the year 240, or 242, ninety bishops were present, while in the council of Carthage, in the year 308, two hundred and seventy bishops signed the conclusions.¹

Abyssinia was within the patriarchate of Alexandria.² It was through two young men, Frumentius and Ædesius, who THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH. alone survived the massacre of the members of a scientific expedition conducted by Meropius, a Tyrian philosopher (about A. D. 330). The king made Ædesius his cupbearer and Frumentius his secretary and treasurer. On the death of the king much kindness was shown the captives, through the favor of the queen, who was the regent. When the prince succeeded his father, as King Aizan, all restraint was removed from the two Christians; Ædesius returned home and became a presbyter in Tyre, while Frumentius visited Alexandria and was consecrated Bishop of Axuma, in Abyssinia, the Axum of the present Abyssinian Tigré, and returned thither and became the apostle of the Switzerland of Africa. He had the title of Abuna, our Father, which was equivalent to Patriarch.³ Frumentius stood firmly against the Arian heresy, for this controversy reached even the valleys and cliffs of Abyssinia, and on this account Emperor Constantius, a champion of Arianism, interceded for his overthrow, but failed in his scheme. Constantius endeavored to induce the king to dismiss Frumentius,⁴ and a Hindu,

¹ The fortunes of the African Church are traced finely by Lloyd, *The North African Church*, Lond., 1880.

² Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i, p. 173.

³ Fuhrmann, *Handwörterbuch der christlichen Religion- und Kirchengeschichte*, p. 33; "The Religion of Abyssinia," in *London Quar. Rev.*, xxx, 325-330 (July, 1868). ⁴ Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium*, cap. 31.

Theophilus, was provided to succeed him, and even arrived from Socotora, and landed at Axum, but was compelled to leave.¹ Toward the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth, a translation of the Bible was made from the received Greek text of the Alexandrian Church into the old language of the Axumitic kingdom.

The Abyssinian Church has always remained in connection with Alexandria, and it is still the boast of its members, "We drink from the fountain of the Patriarch of Alexandria." Its present relationship is therefore old Egyptian, or Coptic, and, though the controversies of the ancient period were Monophysite, Jacobite, Monothelite, or Eutychian, according to the theological color of Alexandria,² and though it still is feeble, it has nevertheless survived the countless revolutions and the persecutions of the Moslem, it has preserved its existence through an unbroken succession of Christian governors until this century, and might with truth be called the Waldensian Church of the Switzerland of Africa.³

The central field of interest as a scene of missionary activity down to the imperial toleration of Christianity was the continent of Europe. Crossing the Dardanelles, and landing in Thrace, we find that Christian missionaries have continued the labors of Paul and carried the Gospel through Mæsia to the Danube, and that a few have even crossed the river and labored among the ruder Goths of Dacia. Macedonia had Christian societies, while Illyricum was strong enough to give its name to a prefecture which included the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.⁴ Down to the year 310 three bishops had resided at Philippopolis, in Thrace, while down to the council of Nicea three had resided in Thessalonica. But Heraclea, in Thrace, had been an episcopal residence as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161), and in Tomi, a city of Scythia, the first bishop resided in the time of Diocletian (284-305). A council was held at Anchiadus, in Thrace, which was attended by twelve bishops, and another at Corinth, where eighteen bishops were present.⁵

¹ Hoffmann, art. *Äthiopische Kirche*, in Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, vol. i, p. 166.

² Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, N. Y., 1876, pp. 4, 342. On the earlier history, compare Socrates, *Church History*, i, 19; Sozomen, 2, 24; Theodoret, i, 22.

³ An excellent treatment of the Abyssinian Church will be found in the *London Quar. Rev.*, July, 1868, pp. 317, ff. Comp. also *Meth. Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1863, pp. 608-612.

⁴ Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i, p. 172.

⁵ Wiltseh, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 46.

The entrance of the Goths, who lived along the lower Danube, within the pale of Christianity, was one of the most important events in this entire period. It was the opening of a new field of evangelistic labor, and had the important effect of bringing the Gospel into relation with many of the Teutonic tribes that constitute the Germany of our times. About the beginning of the third century the word Goth became a generic term which applied to a number of rude tribes united under one chief. They were of savage nature, and of all the enemies of the Roman none were more bitter or so hard to overcome. They were constant guards against the progress of Roman arms to the north. The emperor Decius was slain by them, near the Danube, in the year 251. Constantine pursued the wise policy of making them friends and allies, and thus disarmed their hostility against the empire. He even introduced some of the barbarians into his army, there being at one time not less than forty thousand Gothic soldiers under his command. Christianity thus had an easy entrance among them, and its propagation was greatly facilitated by the good relations between the Gothic chiefs and the emperor. Such was the progress of Christianity among them that at the council of Nicæa a Gothic bishop, Theophilus, was present and signed the decrees.

THE GOTHS ON
THE LOWER
DANUBE.

While these general influences were operating the direct evangelization of the people took place through one man, Ulfilas, who was born in the year 313, of a Christian family captured by the Goths from Cappadocia a half century previously. He received the Gothic name of Volfila, or Wolf, and while he learned that rude dialect he learned also the Greek language, and was trained as a Christian by his parents, who, in their captivity, did not forget the pure faith of their native Cappadocia. He labored as a teacher among the Goths, and in the year 343 was consecrated a bishop of that people. He came in closer relationship with Arianism than with the orthodox faith of the Church, probably because of its being the favorite view at court, and adopted it as his theological type. It must be said, however, that, while he declared his Arianism shortly before his death, in all his statements concerning the Trinity there is not one which harmonizes with the Arian denial of the divinity of Christ. Leaving out his own declaration of purpose, his expressions are in harmony with the trinitarian theology.

ULFILAS THE
GOTHIC APO-
STLE.

He advanced steadily in honor and authority among his people, and on important questions represented their interests in treating for them with the eastern Roman empire. Through his labors the

Gospel advanced rapidly among the Goths, but without reaching the king, Athanaric.¹ He, indeed, persecuted his Christian subjects, but during an invasion by the Huns the West Goths, separated under the leadership of Fritigern from the East Goths and encouraged by overtures from Rome, crossed the Danube and settled in Thrace, where Ulfilas now had an important field of missionary activity. The pleasant relations with Rome were soon disturbed by war, but in all cases Ulfilas conducted the negotiations on the part of his people. While the general effect of his life was to bring his barbarous people into relationship with the Roman empire, and to make Christianity the great uniting bond, his most important single work was the translation of the Bible, except Kings, into the Gothic. Until his day the Goths possessed no alphabet, but he invented an alphabet, organized their speech, and lifted their confused and rough and variable dialects into the dignity of a language, and crowned this work by translating the Bible from the received Greek into a strong, idiomatic and nervous Gothic version. This version has not been preserved entire, but the Codex Argenteus, one of the finest specimens of an early Christian manuscript in existence, contains the four gospels.²

IMPORTANT
GENERAL
LABORS OF
ULFILAS.

In Greece it was Corinth, rather than Athens, which constituted the ecclesiastical center of operations. Athens, however, constituted a diocese, and the third bishop resident there suffered martyrdom in the year 179. Aquileia,

¹ Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, p. 423, ff.

² This manuscript was made by Ostro-Gothic scribes in Italy, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It was discovered in a Westphalian abbey, but the means by which it reached there are not known. Thence it reached Cologne, and then Prague, where it fell into the hands of Königsmark, who captured that city. The Dutch scholar, Vossius, came into possession of it and took it to Amsterdam. At his death, in the year 1663, the Swedish chancellor, De la Gardie, bought it, and presented it to the University of Upsala, where it is now the chief ornament. It is written in silver and gold letters, and upon the finest vellum, which is of a pale blue ("purple") color. Both the beginning and the end are gone. It is of great scientific value because it is the oldest treasure of the Teutonic family of speech. Comp. Murray, Handbook for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, ed. of 1858, p. 339. Critical editions of this great work have been prepared by Von der Gabelentz and Loebe, Leipz., 1836-46; Bernhardt, Halle, 1875; and Stamm, Paderborn, 1878, 7th ed., by Heyne. On Ulfilas, see Waitz, Leben und die Lehre des Ulfilas, Hanover, 1840; Bessel, Das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen, Göt., 1860; Scott (C. A.), Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths, with an account of the Gothic churches, Lond., 1885, and the art. by the same in the Encyc. Brit. Scott's work is of great scientific value. Hopkins has an admirable article in the Andover Review, August, 1892, pp. 162-179, "Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths."

standing at the head of the Gulf of Venice, not originally an Italian population, but conquered by the Romans and converted into an important city, became a point of influence in favor of Christianity among the ruder peoples of the eastern Alps. Later it became a patriarchate, whose jurisdiction extended from the Istrian Pola on the east to Como in the west.¹

Rome, of all places in the western territory of the Church, was the heart and hand of a vigorous and aggressive Christianity. Its claim as the chief episcopate in Italy was not contested by any dioceses of the peninsula. Its antiquity extended farther back than that of any other;

ROME THE
GREAT WEST-
ERN CENTER
OF AGGRESSIVE
CHRISTIANITY.

indeed, through Roman labors the societies, from the Alps down to Sicily, had been organized, and had now grown, in large measure, into episcopates. The first council we hear of in Italy was the provincial synod of Rome, which consisted of twelve bishops, and was presided over by Telesphorus, whose episcopate lasted from the year 142 to 154. Between this first provincial synod and the year 203 we have evidence of seventeen Roman synods and councils, which were attended by bishops from all parts of Italy, and, as in the case of Polycarp of Smyrna, at the Roman synod under Anicetus, sometimes by distant bishops.² From the beginning of the second century episcopates in Italy increased rapidly, and by the year 311 there were societies and bishops in every Italian province. Some of the dioceses were small, especially in southern Italy, where even the archiepiscopal provinces were hardly as large as the episcopal dioceses in the northern countries.³

Spain and Gaul were fields of zealous missionary activity. The Roman bishop was supreme over the bishops in both these countries, and all indications of obstinacy or rebellion in those provinces were promptly dealt with by orders to appear at Rome. But in those countries themselves there was not a recognition of Roman supremacy at the beginning. Germany, France, Spain, Britain, Africa, and even Illyricum and seven Italian provinces, were in no wise subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch in those earliest days.⁴ By the close of the second century Christian societies had been established in nearly every part of Spain.⁵ In the year 237 the Roman bishop Anterus addressed a letter to the bishop of the provinces of Batia and Toletana,

SPAIN AND
GAUL.

¹ Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i, p. 155.

² Wiltseh, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 40.

³ Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. i, p. 171.

⁴ Bingham, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 23.

⁵ Meyrick, *The Church in Spain*, Lond. and N. Y., 1802, p. 24.

while a little later Cyprian addressed two letters to the Spanish Christians, one to a presbyter and the people of Legio and Asturica in the north, and another to a deacon and the people of Emista, in the south of Spain. Eutybianus, Bishop of Rome in the last of the third century, wrote his first epistle "to all the bishops of the province of Bætica."

These indications that the Christians of Spain were of importance enough to be addressed in special official documents from

PROGRESS OF
CHRISTIANITY
IN SPAIN.

Rome prove the progress which the organization of the Church in that country had already made. The council of Elvira, which met in the year 305, was attended by nineteen bishops, and the list of their dioceses shows that the cities were represented, but the evidence is not clear as to the extent to which the intervening rural regions were evangelized.¹ There is no mention, by any writer, of schools existing in Spain at this period. Christianity was established in Gaul about the same time as in Spain, and, according to a tradition traceable to Gregory of Tours, there were seven bishoprics in the whole of Gaul by the middle of the third century, namely, Turones (Tours), Arclati, Narbona (Narbonne), Tolosa, Paris, Arverna, Lemoricum.

By the beginning of the fourth century churches had been established in all the Gallic provinces. Vienne became an episcopal

STRONG
CHURCH IN
TREVES, THE
PREDECESSOR
OF PARIS.

residence in the year 118, Autissiodorum (Auxerre) about 132, and Lugdunum (Lyons) about 177. Treves, which preceded Paris as the capital of the province, became a bishopric as early as the beginning of the fourth century,² and was a center of evangelistic light into the lowlands of the north and eastward as far as the barbarous towns of the Rhinelands that marked the borderland between the Frank and the Gaul. But a Christian society had been organized in Treves as early as the middle of the third century, if not actually the seat of a bishop at that time, while Mettis (Metz), Tullum (Toul), and Virodunum (Vendome) were sources of light to the surrounding country. Treves, however, was far in advance of any other city in northern Gaul. Because of its being the center of civil authority it was called Altera Roma, and the political prominence gave it likewise an ecclesiastical authority.³ The Bishop of

¹ Wiltach furnishes the list of the dioceses, Handbook, vol. i, p. 41. f. Dale, The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century, Lond., 1882; an admirable work. Meyrick, The Church in Spain, ch. v.

² Gundling, Ausführ. Discours von Cher-Triev, § 7, p. 374, ff.

³ On Treves, see Freeman, Augusta Treverorum, in British Quarterly Review, July, 1875, and Essays, series iii; Reynolds, Athanasius, pp. 52-54.

Treves was one of the number present in the council of Arles, which met in the year 314.¹ One Gallic council, at least, was held during the second century, namely, that in Lugdunum, in 198. It is not probable that there were schools in both that city and Treves;² but this is a supposition based on the missionary activity of which these two cities were the sources for many years.

But little progress was made at this period toward the conversion of Germany. That part which bordered on the Rhine was more easily reached than the ruder peoples between that river and the Elbe in the north and the Danube in the south. CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY. Wherever we find Christian societies it would seem that they were more or less the natural result of the presence of a portion of the Roman army, which consisted largely of Christians in the later part of the reign of Constantine. It must be admitted, however, that there were Christians in Germany before the soldiers of that emperor made it possible to sing psalms without danger in the forests of idolatrous Germany. Colonia was a bishopric about the end of the third century. At the same time the Gospel was introduced into Rhaetia by the bishop Narcissus, and an important society, some of whose members took their place of honor in the constellation of martyrs, grew up in Augusta Vindelicorum, the Augsburg of our times.³ So early as A. D. 177-202, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, speaks of the "Churches planted in Germany, which do not believe or hand down aught different [from that held by the other Churches], nor do those in Spain, in Gaul, in the East, in Libya,"⁴ and elsewhere.

That the Gospel reached Britain at this time is hardly to be questioned. Origen signalizes the entrance of the Gospel into that country by saying that the Britons, "although divided from our world, are united with the Mauritians in the worship of the same God."⁵ The enthusiasm toward the evangelization of the North, which seems to have been at its maximum in Rome about the middle of the second century, very probably reached THE GOSPEL IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Britain and seized upon some of the more important points in the neighborhood of the sea. The vigor of the Irish and

¹ On this council, see R. Travers Smith, *The Church in France*, Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 13-17.

² Langemack, *Theil i*, s. 108, f. There was an important school in pagan times at Autun. Smith, *The Church in France*, p. 11.

³ Fabricius, *Lux Evang.*, p. 429; Wiltch, *Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 45.

⁴ i, 10, 3. See Baring-Gould, *The Church in Germany*, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, pp. 1-17.

⁵ In *Lucan Hom.*, 6, tom. iii, 939.

British Church in the fourth and later centuries can hardly be accounted for by assuming a later date for the introduction of Christianity. In the council of Arles, of 314, three bishops from Britain signed the conclusions—Eborius of Eboracum (York), Restitutus of Londinium (London), and Colouia Londiniensium (Lincoln). The location of these bishoprics will prove that the whole of the Britain of that day was organized into a complete ecclesiastical system, and that the leaders of the Church in that country were forming plans not only for standing in relation with the Church on the Continent, but for a thorough evangelization of the various tribal elements which made up the warring population of the Britain of that time.

There were peculiarities, as will have been seen from our survey, in the extension of Christianity in this important period. There was no great organized arrangement for the spread of the Gospel; neither was there a fund for the support of missions or a settled policy as to how far any measure of the social life might be allowed on entering the Christian fold. Christianity was operating through its leavening process by virtue of that expansive force which was a beautiful and necessary part of its nature. The Christians believed, and therefore spoke, and, if need be, were ready for martyrdom. Those were the days when the individual impulse was the master sentiment of the Church. The zealous preacher did not need to wait for a commission from a board of missions, or an examination as to physical condition, or for formal proof of intellectual vigor, or for the approval of the catechetical school in Alexandria or Antioch, or for a training in the language of the people to whom he went. If he was thoroughly in earnest in preaching the word he was ready at the shortest notice for the longest journey and the farthest field. His was that individual inspiration which wrought the miracle of converting a tribe and planting the cross as far distant from the Roman Forum as the labarum was borne by the soldiers of Constantine.

The most of these first laborers, who followed in the paths of the apostles, and extended them infinitely farther, are unknown to history. They were, except Ulfilas and a few others, obscure people, often captives and women whose very lives and names have not been recorded in the annals of early Christian history. We only know that when the more formal evangelistic movements were in progress there were abundant evidences that the Gospel had already reached the country and was still existing in feeble and obscure form. Often the first

CHRISTIANITY
A LEAVENING
PROCESS IN
THE NEW
FIELDS.

MANY OF THE
FIRST PREACH-
ERS UNKNOWN.

recorded indication of the existence of Christianity in a country is to be found in the presence of a bishop who represented it in Nicaea or some obscurer council. Before Ulfilas was born Christianity had penetrated the Gothic tribes, and, in calm and retired places, the name of Jesus was known and revered by some worshippers above all the idols of that warlike people. That remarkable man was only thirteen years old at the time of the council of Nicaea, and yet among the signers of the decrees of that first general council of the Church stands the name of Theophilus, bishop of the Gothic tribes. There is no certainty as to how the Gospel first reached there, but the evidence of the existence of a Christian society is too strong to admit of doubt.

After a man had entered a new field, and built up a Christian society, and taken his place among the workers for the farther Gospel, he was recognized as a servant of the Church. His work was his patent to spiritual nobility. Much was left to individual prompting. The gravest question was the condition of the heart that was pressed by the great burden of winning a tribe or a province to Christ. No risks were taken by the Church at home for anyone. Each one went at his own charges, found his own way as best he could, and wrought with mighty will for the propagation of the Christian faith. He was little disturbed by the questions which divided Alexandria and Rome or Antioch and Carthage. His mission was among the needy, who were gross idolaters. His risk, at this time, was not great. Between martyrdom by a Decius or Diocletian and death by the battle-ax of a Dacian or Briton savage there was little to choose. He was willing to take the first step toward opening a new pathway for the Gospel, and, if he fell along the way, his faith never wavered that so far, at least, his work would make the labor of his successor the easier. This spontaneous propagation of the Gospel, by persons who were impelled toward it by an inspiration which they neither would nor could resist, is among the most remarkable factors in the early Church. It was the passion of the ministerial heart to bear the cross still farther than anyone had carried it. In the later times, while organized life absorbed these individual promptings, there needed to be official authority for every evangelistic work. It was a lower spiritual stage which created this necessity. That Church is the strongest which, in every age, combines most harmoniously the smooth operation of organic laws and restriction with the largest liberty of work in fields which the individual conscience has pointed out.

SPONTANEOUS
PROPAGATION
OF THE GOS-
PEL.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE CHURCH IN UNION WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE CONTROVERSIAL AGE.

A. D. 313-680.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE STATE—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW PERIOD.

No sooner had the first decade of the fourth century passed than one of the most critical periods in the entire history of the Church was introduced. The imperial opposition which had been in force for three centuries against Christianity with only varying severity now ceased, and the new religion became a pronounced object of the patronage and friendship of the State. This strange and unnatural relation was far more dangerous, as later events sadly proved, to the life, doctrine, and polity of the Church than even the heartless persecutions of Nero, Decius, or Diocletian. For the Church, like many individuals, can more easily accomplish its mission against declared opposition than against selfish assistance.¹ With the complete liberty of Christian worship and evangelization, and the removal of political disabilities from the Christians, there at once arose a secular spirit which was only the natural recognition which the Church made for its new imperial favors. The Church now leaned on the political arm. Previously it had enjoyed the inestimable privilege of relying for its existence and growth on purely moral forces; but now that it received the proffer of support from the State the temptation was strong to accept it and shape its new life in harmony with it, and, as Bryce says, "to frame herself upon the model of the secular administration."² It was gratifying to the Christians, who had as yet no experience of the danger of leaning on political power for

¹ Gregory Nazianzen says: "The Christian Church has still more to fear from its enemies within than from those without."—Orat. i, p. 35.

² Holy Roman Empire, p. 11.

aid, to find their councils presided over by an emperor, their enemies arraigned for punishment, their institutions established by supreme decree, and their funds supplied from the imperial treasury.

This great change brought the Church into subjection to the State. When the first Christian emperor professed faith in the Gospel he had no idea of abandoning any of his prerogatives to the Church, but to control its life and administration, after the manner of his pagan predecessors in dealing with the prevailing faith of their subjects. There was no change in the organic law of the empire, which placed all the people at the mercy of their ruler. The Church, in every department of its life, was subjected, as a part of the general machinery of the government, to the supremacy of the emperor.¹ The marvel is that such a transition should have occurred without some decided protest on the part of controlling Christian minds against the dangers that would naturally result from it. But there was universal gratification among the Christians that the agis of a Roman emperor was now extended over their proscribed faith, and that their scanty means were to be supplemented, for the purposes of worship, by unsparing largesses from the treasury of the general government. It did appear that no serious embarrassment could befall the administration of religious affairs, owing to the apparent safeguard furnished in the elaborate system of ecclesiastical government which existed by the beginning of the fourth century. But when we remember that Constantine still reserved, and even exercised, the right of Pontifex Maximus, and that he claimed toward his adopted faith the same prerogative of supervision which both he and his predecessors had exercised toward the national religion, this very magnitude of Church officers became a source of increased danger. The necessary imperial confirmation of an officer of the Church soon disappeared in the more alarming usage of imperial nomination.

IMPERIAL PRO-
TECTION, A
DANGER TO
THE CHURCH.

Before this great change the Christian Church had constituted a grand moral unity in itself, confronted by the opposing perpetual unity of the Roman empire. But when once the two formed a league the State began its dangerous process of absorption of the Church. "The Church conquered the empire," says Freeman.²

¹ Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 13. Andrews says: "It is not likely that Constantine meant to profess conversion. He simply substituted a better for a poorer State religion. He was, of course, the head of the new as previously of the old. Rome had always made religion a State affair, and the promulgation of Christianity caused no change in this. Dante's State Church theory was identical with that of the Roman republic."—*Institutes of General History*, 3d ed., Bost., 1891, p. 86. ² *Outlines of History*, N. Y., 1873, p. 96.

By reversing his declaration he would have approached more nearly the fact. The real truth is, the empire conquered the Church. There was not a moral force in the Christian world which was not either impaired or thrown into the background by the change. Neander says: "The reign of Constantine bears witness that the

THE EMPIRE
CONQUERED
THE CHURCH.

State which seeks to establish Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever force."¹ No sooner did the Church find itself under the protection of the empire by a voluntary acceptance of the proffer and resignation to its behests than secularism in ecclesiastical government and heresy in grosser forms began their destructive work, and centuries were required to solve the problems and remove the difficulties which, otherwise, would have been the easy work of decades. Had there been no absorption of the Church by the State the formularization of Christian doctrine and the evangelization of the nations would have been the natural and speedy mission of the Church. Protestantism would never have been a necessity, for the very evils that it arose to correct would not have existed.

Thus early in the history of the Church was formed that alliance of Church and State whose corrupting and enthralling influence has only appeared in ever-clearer light during the flight of fifteen centuries, and to which must be attributed no moderate degree of the errors of Romanism² and the divisions and limitations of European Protestantism.

¹ History of the Church, vol. ii, p. 31.

² "If a man considers the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion he will easily perceive that the papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."—Hobbes, Leviathan, pt. iv, xlvii.

CHAPTER II.

TOLERATION UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS.

IN no respect is the decline of a nation more perceptible than in the increase of aspirants to the chief rule. This evil reflects the sway of party spirit, of lust for power, of commercial stagnation, of fixed policy, and of uncertainty for the future. The Roman empire, measured by this standard, was hastening rapidly to disintegration. Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, was called from the command of the army in Britain, in the year 306, to succeed his father as Roman emperor. The empire, therefore, had six claimants of the throne—Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus, in the East, and Constantine, Maximianus, and Maxentius, in the West. But history nowhere furnishes a more striking illustration of the capacity of genius to overcome opposition and make even hostile plans contribute to its final triumph. Constantine's measures were prompt and summary, and, while his memory cannot be acquitted of the stain of injustice and cruelty, it must be confessed that he was the only man of his age who comprehended the needs of the country and had the wisdom and capacity to alleviate them.

He no sooner came into power than he allied himself intimately with the interests of the persecuted Church. To sympathize with the Christians in their sufferings and their doctrines was a part of his inheritance from his father, who, though tolerant of all faiths, was especially so of Christianity. Maxentius, who possessed Rome and was a bigoted and superstitious defender of the old paganism, led an army against Constantine. The latter promptly responded to the challenge and met his antagonist on the banks of the Tiber, at the Milvian bridge, ten miles from Rome. Previously to the engagement there occurred that remarkable phenomenon which had an important bearing not only on the fortunes of all Christian emperors, but upon the Church itself for many centuries.

Constantine claimed to see, at noonday, a luminous cross in the heavens, bearing the words, "*Hoc vince*"—By this conquer. The form of the cross was the Greek letter X, intersected by the Greek P (Χ), the monogram consisting of the initial letters of the Greek word for Christ—Χριστός. Constan-

SIX CLAIMANTS
TO THE ROMAN
THRONE.

CONSTANTINE
THE GREAT
OF THE CROSS

time, in perplexity, fell asleep, and Christ appeared to him, presenting to him the same symbol of his own passion and commanding Constantine to use it as his ensign in the battle, promising him victory over Maxentius as the reward of his obedience. Constantine, on awaking, accepted the vision as from God. Henceforth he had the labarum, guarded by fifty chosen men, carried at the head of his troops in all his wars.

Few incidents in history have occasioned more controversy than Constantine's vision of the cross. Eusebius, Lactantius, and Rufinus, all writers of the fourth century, make much mention of it, the first alone describing it as a vision, the rest speaking of it as a dream. Stripped of the superstitious reverence with which it was regarded by the early Church, and the frivolous discussions of later writers, the probability is that Constantine, intensely excited by the belief that the battle about to take place would be decisive of

NEANDER'S
EXPLANATION
OF THE VISION.

his own fate, and, for a long time at least, of the destinies of the Church, did dream in the night preceding the engagement that he saw a cross and heard a divine command concerning it. While still under the influence of the dream he could easily fancy, on the following day, a complete confirmation in some fleecy cloud of his experience of the preceding night. Neander says: "In accordance with the pagan mode of thinking, which for the most part still clung to him, his attention would be directed to watch for signs in the heavens, from which he could gather an omen. In his intercourse with the Christians he had heard of the miraculous power of the Christ; he already believed in the God of the Christians as a powerful being. It is very possible that, either of himself or at the suggestion of Christians about his person, he imagined he perceived, in the shape of the clouds, or in some other object, a sign of the cross, the Christians being disposed to trace their favorite symbol in almost every object of nature. The vision in his sleep, which perhaps immediately followed, admits also, in his case, of an easy explanation. Thus, then, Constantine was led to conceive the hope that by the power

¹ Church History, vol. ii, p. 11. Very few historians now believe that the vision of Constantine was a supernatural occurrence. Newman is one of the last defenders of that view. *Essays on Miracles, Biblical and Ecclesiastical*, Lond., 1842, 5th ed., 1885, pp. 271, ff. The semipagan Constantine was a poor trophy for such a divine apparition, the truculent murderer that he was. Gibben, Waddington, Bruckhardt, *Zeit Constantius des Gr.*, 1853, pp. 334, &c. and some others consider the whole story an invention. But, though Constantine was equal to that task, it is not necessary to assume this hypothesis. Schaff has some excellent remarks, iii, 20-28. See also Richardson, *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*, p. 490, Chr. Lit. ed.

of the God of the Christians and the sacred symbol of the cross he should conquer."

The circumstance was at once employed by him to inspire with heroism his army, who are alleged to have seen the same image of the cross in the heavens. In this, however, he simply employed an instrumentality derived from the Christian religion in the same way that Roman generals had been accustomed to lead their forces under the inspiration of the utterances of soothsayers, of omens derived from sacrificial usages, and of ordinary natural phenomena that, for the occasion, were made to serve a special purpose.

The favorable result of the battle with Maxentius, while it was the decisive event in Constantine's career, was the beginning of public aid to the Christians. Being supreme in the West, he now issued, in the year 312, his first edict favorable to the FIRST EDICT IN FAVOR OF CHRISTIANITY. This edict, the joint work of himself and Licinius, ruler of the European East, only granted full liberty to all religions, but a later one, issued at Milan, in 313, gave the full right to every citizen to profess Christianity. Maximin, the emperor in Asia, was hostile to the Christians, but, being defeated in battle by Licinius, the latter and Constantine became the supreme rulers. Whatever public favor had been shown the Christians by Licinius had been the result of policy or the fear of Constantine, and now that the disputes concerning their respective boundaries, in which the two became involved, had to be settled by the ordeal of battle, all the pagan sympathies of Licinius were openly expressed. He assumed as his mission the restoration of the old paganism, sacrificed to the gods before the engagement began, and made a vow to destroy the Christians. He was signally defeated, but later, in 324, again attacked Constantine. Once more defeated, he was put to death by order of Constantine in the following year.

Constantine was now the sole ruler of the Roman empire. His signal successes had given him increased confidence in the verity of the Christian religion, and he now issued an edict exhorting all his subjects to adopt the Christian religion, but still leaving to each to choose between the new faith and the old. To his public proclamations in favor of the Christian religion there was added, in 325, the convocation of the council of Nicaea, for COUNCIL OF NICAEA. the purpose of settling the disputes on the divinity of Christ. He attended some of the sessions in person. With the progress of his reign his sympathy with Christianity became more intense, but it was not until his final illness, at Nicomedia, during the feast of Pentecost, in 337, that he received, at the hand of the bishop, Eusebius, the rite of baptism. He died at the age of sixty-five.

Constantine bears the full impress of a transitional character. In his own person he represented the relaxing grasp of paganism and the certain supremacy of Christianity. Whatever personal advantage he may have perceived in a policy of toleration toward the Christians, there can be no doubt that he was serious in his attachment to their doctrines. While it must be admitted that as late as the year 319 he permitted the practice of pagan rites, and two years later even consulted the haruspices, protected the heathen priests in the exercise of their rights, inscribed one side of his coins with his own image and the other with that of Apollo, required his subjects to consult soothsayers in seasons of distress, and reserved the title and prerogative of pontifex maximus until his death,¹ great allowance must be made for him as a ruler because of the associations in which he was placed and the dangers which constantly threatened him from the patrician class, who still adhered to the pagan faith.

In order to free himself as much as possible from this last embarrassment Constantine resolved, "*Deo iubente*," to transfer the capital of his empire from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Bosphorus. Here, at this magnificent meeting place of two continents, he built the city of Constantinople and adopted every measure to make it a Christian city. He interdicted all pagan practices, built churches, attended divine worship in person, and made the city a center of ecclesiastical power and prestige which for many centuries was destined to be the rival of Christian Rome and decide the evangelization and civilization of the eastern half of northern Europe. But of scarcely less power toward the improvement of the material condition of Christians and the increase of their number than public edicts and the founding of a Christian capital were Constantine's ordering the civil observance of Sunday, his confiscation in the East of pagan temples for Christian churches, his support of the worship out of the general treasury, his emancipation of Christian slaves, his exemption of the clergy from military and municipal duty, and his promotion of Christian education among his subjects.²

¹ "He was still chief pontiff of Jupiter, 'Best and Greatest.' He still suffered the god of the Romans to be invoked in the camps as well as in his accustomed temples. He did not forbid vows to be made and prayers addressed to the genius of the emperor. He looked forward to be himself enrolled after death among the blessed objects of the national cult."—Merivale, *General History of Rome*, p. 587. But we cannot doubt the sincerity of Constantine's Christianity, so far as it went. He was an anomaly, and must not be judged by our standards. See Cutts, *Constantine the Great*, Lond. and N. Y., 1881, p. 128.

² Schaff, *Hist. Christ. Church*, vol. iii, p. 31.

The three sons of Constantine—Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans—divided their father's empire, and were acknowledged as emperors by the Roman senate. The first ruled over SONS OF CON- Britain, Gaul, and Spain; the second, over Asia, Syria, STANTINE. and Egypt; and the third, over Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantius, who survived his brothers, became the sole ruler of the empire. The sympathy of the father with Christianity continued in the sons, who exerted their utmost influence to place it upon a sure basis. But they lacked both the genius and power to follow strictly in the footsteps of their father, and on the death of Constantius, in the year 361,¹ the relation of the successor, whoever he might be, to the Church was a matter of grave uncertainty to the whole Christian world. Unhappily, the Christians had learned, by the example of a great father and three weak sons, to lean upon an arm of flesh.

¹ Constantine was buried in the Church of the Apostles, in his new capital, a church which he had designated as his own mausoleum. "While the church was consigning the emperor with the celebration of the sacred mysteries of the Christian faith to his tomb amidst the cenotaphs of the apostles, and inscribing him in its calendar as Isapostolos, the senate of Rome was decreeing him the usual honor of an apotheosis and ordering incense to be burned before his statue."—Cutts, *Life of Constantine*, p. 419, who has a picturesque account of his last days and death. Thus the emperor's wish to be worshiped as a god was satisfied.

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CHAPTER III.

FINAL EFFORT OF PAGANISM FOR EXISTENCE—JULIAN.

AT the time of Constantine's death, there were living two of his brothers, Constantius Dalmatius and Julius Constantius. These had sons, who, being regarded as possible rivals, were put to death by the soldiers at the command of the sons of GALLUS AND JULIAN. Constantine. Only two, Gallus and Julian, sons of GALLUS AND JULIAN. Julius Constantius, escaped, the former because he was hopelessly sick, and the latter because his extreme youth—for he was only six years old at his uncle's death—gave no ground of apprehension. They were sent to a remote point of Cappadocia, and, though undergoing a real imprisonment, went through the form of education in the languages and sciences, under the oversight of the Arian bishop Eusebius and the eunuch Mardonius, and prepared for clerical service as lecturers or readers.

Gallus becoming a Caesar in the East, the imprisonment of Julian terminated, and he attended the schools of Constantinople. He rapidly developed, and in the various places that he visited he formed the acquaintance and placed himself under the instruction of Neoplatonic and other masters inimical to Christianity. He was especially fond of theurgy and every science relating to divination. Libanius, Ecdesius, and Chrysanthius, and that shrewd juggler Maximus, were among his intimate friends and teachers. He secretly rejected Christianity, adopted the old paganism in its mysterious forms, but concealed his real sentiments by entering the monastic life and becoming a lector in the church at Nicomedia. His brother Gallus dying in 354, Julian was carried a prisoner to Milan, but after a confinement of seven months he was set at liberty, when he went to Athens, continued his studies, and was formally initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. In 355 he was proclaimed Caesar, and had rule over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, but with powers greatly limited by Constantius, who had voluntarily called him to a share in the empire. He now developed great capacity as a military leader and, having made a successful campaign in Gaul, was, on the death of Constantius, declared emperor by his soldiers on the banks of the Seine, where the Hotel Clugny, the heart of old Paris, now stands.

JULIAN DE-
CLARED EM-
PEROR.

Julian, when he ascended the throne of the Cæsars, was surrounded by a certain mystery. His experience had been varied, and for the most part passed in the study of occult sciences. He had been scrupulously strict in person, and even after his elevation to the throne he introduced into his palace all the rigid austerity of the monastic cell. His military successes had lifted him out of the calmness of the scholar, and his subjects at once felt that they had to deal with more than a man of books. The early CAUSES OF JULIAN'S PREJUDICE AGAINST CHRISTIANITY. exile and constant barriers to progress which he suffered at the hands of Constantine's family had the natural effect of prejudicing him against a faith which could permit such hostility. He regarded that family as at once the representative of the power and the illustration of the morals of the religion of Christ. Almost until his accession to the supreme throne he retained the mask which for ten years had concealed his paganism, and as late as the year 361 he assisted at Vienna in the Feast of the Epiphany. But he succeeded Constantius in the same year, and declared himself the public enemy of Christianity. His subjects, therefore, had no ground for expecting either the sympathy of the humane heart or the candor of the judicial mind.

Julian took up his abode at Constantinople, and began his systematic measures to convert his capital into a pagan city. His one great plan was to suppress Christianity and restore paganism. He would not have, however, the unmixt paganism of the earlier period, but with such improvements as might be derived from oriental and Christian sources. His hostility to Christianity was not expressed by a formal edict against its profession, for he claimed that his philosophy required generosity toward all beliefs, but by the many barriers which his inventive mind knew how to employ.

Chief among these may be mentioned: 1. His encouragement of schism and strife among the Christians, for the purpose of mutual weakening and destruction; 2. His prohibition against Christian schools of learning and the study of classic authors by Christians, in the belief that Christianity could not exist without this classic basis; 3. His interdiction against Christians holding any important offices in the empire; 4. His removal of disabilities from the Jews, and his proposed, but abortive, restoration of the temple at Jerusalem, that he might prove the falsity of Christ's prediction (Matt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 2);¹ 5. His

¹ This work was said to have been stopped by the irruption of flames. Newman, *Essay on Miracles*, has vindicated this as a real miracle. Schaff and others regard it as a providential use of natural means, and Milman, Gieseler, and others claim that it is purely a natural phenomenon. Some doubt the

requirement that his soldiers should attend the heathen worship; 6. His withdrawal from the clergy of the immunities previously granted them; 7. His failure to punish his heathen subjects for acts of violence committed against the Christians and his great care to punish a Christian for the slightest offense; 8. His support of heathen service and the rebuilding of pagan temples at the public expense; and, finally, 9. His own authorship of a work in defense of paganism, which was written in part during his Persian campaign, but is now lost.¹

The sole reign of Julian was brief, lasting only twenty months. He died in June, 363, while on a campaign against the Persians, and maintained his enmity to Christianity to the close. It was a pleasing fancy among some of the Christians that just before his death he confessed failure with the words, "Tandem vicisti, Galilæe."²

The character of Julian was a strange mixture of the culture of the scholar, the fanaticism of the iconoclast, the shrewdness of the politician, the executive capacity of the CHARACTER
OF JULIAN. ruler, the superstition of the peasant, and the vanity of the egotist.³ He not only hoped to see Christianity exterminated, but had the blind belief that he was to be the instrument of it. He attached much value to his own literary efforts toward the furtherance of his plans, but, like many royal successors in authorship, with Frederick the Great as a conspicuous example, he was never weaker than with the pen in hand.

The poor apology for a faith which he would furnish his empire

whole story. But it is related by the eminently veracious pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 1. That Jerome does not mention it leads Gibbon to say: "The silence of Jerome would lead to a suspicion that the same story which was celebrated at a distance might be despised on the spot." He alludes to Jerome's Palestinian residence. Guizot, notes on Gibbon, calls attention to the frequent explosions at the reopening of long-closed mines.

¹ The work of the Marquis d'Argens, *Défense du Paganisme, par l'Empereur Julien, en Grec et François, avec des Dissertations et Notes*, Berlin, 1764, contains a doubtful and unsatisfactory recovery of Julian's book, based on Cyril's confutation of it. Comp. Mosheim, *Institt. Ec. History*, vol. i, p. 227, note; Kurtz, *Text-book of Ch. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 153.

² Ammianus, who witnessed the closing scenes of this strange life, reports that Julian died with philosophical composure, with a discourse on the soul and immortality. There is no reason to doubt this account. His exclamation about the Galilean is a legend of later writers. His contemporary, Gregory Nazianzen, who composed four orations against him, knows nothing of it. Schaff, iii, 58, note 2.

³ Niedner calls his zeal a "mania," and says that his outward tolerance was as much "shrewdness" as philosophy. *Lehrb. der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 136. Schaff and Neander give a fair and true estimate of his character.

as a substitute for Christianity was as nondescript and heterogeneous as was ever presented for human acceptance. Its full and hearty adoption by anyone but himself would have been an anomaly of the ages. It was a grouping of the speculations of the Neoplatonists, the arts of jugglery, the moralizings of the pagans of Rome's better days, the vagaries of Persian fire worshipers, and some good thoughts from the gospels and Christian writers. His one supreme god was the Mithra, or sun god of the East, beneath whom were numerous tutelary divinities, the hybrid brood which Julian derived from Grecian paganism and Alexandrian Gnosticism. His recourse to Christianity for rehabilitating paganism was one of the most marked inconsistencies of his administration. He reestablished the priesthood on the basis of the Christian ministry, and his pagan bishops preached to the people and expounded the mythologies. He brought over from Christianity into his heathenism the entire constitution of the Church, and provided for penance, excommunication, absolution, and restoration. Music was introduced into his temples, where the choirs chanted and the congregation responded. Confessing that pagans made no provision for their suffering classes, he provided hospitals for the sick, destitute, and orphans, and administered alms after the manner of the Christian diaconate.¹ He passed into history as "Julianus Apostata," Julian the Apostate; but the epithet is a misapplication, as it is not likely that he was ever anything but a pagan, his intensity increasing with power and years. The deplorable failure of his self-appointed mission and the disorganized state of society at his death were a fair illustration of the hopelessness of paganism. Its doom was now sealed, and the return of liberty to the Church was only a question of days.²

¹ Schaff, *Hist. of the Chr. Ch.*, iii, 49, 50.

² A. Comte despised the memory of Julian as the apostle of the reactionaries. He would appoint an annual day for execrating his memory in company with that of Bonaparte, as one of the two principal opponents of progress, and as the "more insensate" of the two. Strauss compares him to the mediævalists who try to stay the march of modern thought, and considers him a vain, reactionary dreamer. Comte, *System of Positive Polity*, i, 82; John Wordsworth, Julian, in Smith and Wace, who in the course of a long and fine article (32 pp.) gives an excellent estimate of the bright and dark sides of his character and teachings. See especially pp. 516-518. For an excellent portrait of Julian from one of his own coins, see King, *Julian the Emperor*, Lond., 1888, pp. 34, 35.

CHAPTER IV.

FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

WITH Julian the house of Constantine came to an end. He was succeeded by Jovian, an officer in the army, who was proclaimed emperor on the day of Julian's death. The new ruler, though intrusted with important military command, had been pronounced in his sympathy with the Christians. On his accession to the throne he repealed all the unfavorable laws of Julian, and took good care that the confiscated churches should be restored to Christian use and that public worship should be sustained by the treasury of the State. His reign lasted only seven months, but the remaining emperors of the century, both in the East and the West, were not less active in their favor toward Christianity.¹

Chief of these was Theodosius the Great, emperor in the East. His reign of sixteen years, unusually long for his hazardous times, was largely occupied in healing the injuries which had descended from Julian and in establishing Christianity upon a secure civil basis. During the time that he ruled the empire in conjunction with others his policy was more moderate. But when he became sole emperor, in the year 392, his course became at once more radical. In the year 381 he had forbidden apostasy to paganism, but permitted the practice of moderate heathen rites. In 385 he had reissued edicts against heathen sacrifices, and in 386 he had sent Cynegius, the Eastern prefect, into Egypt to close the temples; but in 392 he published an edict for the whole empire, declaring the practice of heathen sacrifice and divination to be high treason and punishable with death, and making the forfeiture of all property the penalty for even such lesser acts of idolatry as incense, garlands, libations, and lights. Even the entrance of a temple was followed by a heavy fine.² In the year 394, when he dwelt at Rome, he made heathen worship impossible by forbidding any expenditure for the same out of the general treasury.

¹ Emperors of the West: Valentinian I. A. D. 364-375; Gratian, 375-383; Valens, 383-392; Theodosius I., 392-395; Emperors of the East: Valens, A. D. 364-378; Theodosius the Great, 379-395; Arcadius, 395-408.

² Cod. Theod., xvi, x, 7, 9, 12; Sozomen, iv, 37; Idatius, A. D. 385 (Patrol. lxxiv); Beugnot, i, 360; Robertson, Hist. Church, vol. i, pp. 276, 281.

In addition to the official regulations for the suppression of paganism must be mentioned the cooperate agency of clerical and popular fury. The Christians in the East, finding themselves supported by civil authority, were immoderate in their zeal for the destruction of the temples and images of the old faith. They did not hesitate to organize for the very purpose of razing the historical edifices which had become centers of heathen worship.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SERAPEUM.

The culmination of these efforts was the violation and destruction of the Serapeum, a magnificent temple of Alexandria dedicated to the worship of Serapis. The image of the god was smitten by a daring soldier, and soon it was thrown down, broken to pieces, and burned in the amphitheater amid the shouts of the multitude. A church was built on the spot where the temple had stood.

With the destruction of the Serapeum the last important center of heathen worship in the East disappeared; and with the death of the noble and beautiful Hypatia,¹ in the year 415, at the hands of the lector Peter, the last brilliant teacher of pagan philosophy disappeared from the Eastern empire. As Hypatia was returning from her lecture room she was dragged from her chariot by some Nitrian monks, headed by Peter the Reader, and at the connivance of St. Cyril, the gloomy and narrow inquisitorial Bishop of Alexandria, was taken to the Casareum, then a church, stripped naked, and hacked to death with oyster shells. Then she was torn in pieces and the fragments of her body burned to ashes. By the year 423 all public evidences of paganism in the East ceased, and by the year 485 there was no longer to be found a teacher of the Neoplatonic philosophy.

Kingsley, taking for his theme this excited period of transition from paganism to Christianity, with Alexandria as the scene, has produced in his *Hypatia* the best historical romance of the century.²

Suidas says that the death of Hypatia was due to the intrigues of Cyril, but recent historians incline to the view that he was only indirectly concerned. Bright says: "Cyril was no party to this hideous deed, but it was the work of men whose passions he had originally called out. Had there been no onslaughts on the synagogues there would doubtless have been no murder of Hypatia."³ Robertson holds Cyril indirectly responsible. The murderers

¹ Gibbon gives an interesting account of this, ch. xxviii (iii, 253-255), Harpur's Libr. ed.), with corrections of Smith and Milman.

² Hypatia, Lond., 1853. See Socrates, E. II., vii, 15, with notes of Zenoe.

³ Hist. of the Church, A. D. 313-451, pp. 274, 275.

"were mostly officers of his church, and had unquestionably drawn encouragement from his earlier proceedings."¹

Kingsley's novel had the secondary aim, as Zenos says, of antagonizing the overestimation of ancient Christianity by Pusey and his followers. "Hypatia was written with my heart's blood," says Kingsley, "and was received, as I expected, with curses from many of the very churchmen whom I was trying to warn and save. Yet the book did good. I know that it has not hurt me, save, perhaps, in that ecclesiastical career to which I have never aspired. I am trying to make the church party with whom are my deepest sympathies understand that if they would conquer they must be themselves—what their formula rightly understood are already—the most liberal and wide-minded men in Christendom."² Stanley says: "It was his moral enthusiasm which, in the pages of *Hypatia*, had scathed with an everlasting brand the name of the Alexandrian Cyril and his followers, for their outrages on the name of humanity and morality in the name of a hollow Christianity and a spurious orthodoxy."³

In the West the traces of paganism remained longer. Rome was its stronghold, for it was still a mark of highest culture there to revere the old faith. While public sacrifices had ceased, there was a secret sympathy maintained for the old faith which had been at once the practice and the pride of Rome in the grand days of the republic and the first and best Caesars. Even Honorius, while he repealed none of the early laws against heathen worship, found himself only safe in restricting their execution and setting limits to popular Christian fury.⁴ In some places, where the Christians destroyed pagan temples, there were collisions and murders. Though in every public calamity the pagans charged the responsibility upon the Christians for offending the national divinities, this had no effect to restrain the popular rage.

By the middle of the sixth century all public practice of pagan rites had ceased in the West. With Damasius and Simplicius, the last heathen philosophers, the great faith of ancient Greece and Rome, which had been branded by Valentinian, in the year 368, as the religion of rustics—Paganism—ceased to exist, save as a superstition of ignorant peasantry

CESSATION OF
PAGAN RITES,
IN SIXTH CEN-
TURY.

¹ Church Hist., i, 401.

² Charles Kingsley: *His Letters and Memories of his Life*. Edinb. wife, Lond., 1878, vol. ii, p. 405. "In one section of the *English Church*," says his wife, "it made him bitter enemies." Vol. i, p. 366.

³ Funeral Sermon on Canon Kingsley.

⁴ Gieseler, *Hist. Church*, vol. i, pp. 287-289, text and notes.

or a study of the antiquarian. It must be admitted, however, that in certain very retired regions of Italy, and especially of the island of Sicily, certain heathen usages were retained and combined with Christian festivities. The later Protestantism never reaching these places, and intelligent Catholicism taking no note of them, the traveler still finds here and there, with pure Latin terms and mythological superstitions also, the strange admixture of pagan and Christian rites.¹

¹ Murray, *Guide Book for Italy*. What Tzschirner says of the beginning of the fourth century applied equally well to the apparent total extinction of paganism in the West in the sixth century: "There was approach of the ancient Church to the heathen world. Certain heathen elements passed over even into the cultus, such as the festivities on the memorial days of the martyrs and at the offerings. A change occurred also in the usages and views of Christians."—*Fall des Heidenthums*, p. 617. Uhlhorn says: "The conflict with external heathenism was over, the struggle with the heathenism in the Church was to take its place."—*Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 478. No doubt this is one explanation of the tenacious hold of superstition and the multitude of pagan and semipagan observances in the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER V.

THE THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

THE theological condition of the Christian Church at the beginning of the fourth century was one of mingled encouragement and alarm. It was clear, even amid the severe persecutions by the civil authorities, that much had been gained. The pagan systems of philosophy had aroused from their lethargy, and, like aged warriors, had gone into mortal combat with the new faith and fallen beneath the mighty thrusts of the first generation of Christian apologists. There was not a department of thought in which Christianity was not triumphant and aggressive. Its new schools arose on the ruins of its hostile predecessors, and threatened to equal them in the scope and power of its evangelical systems. The pagan consciousness had lost its traditional hopefulness, and almost its very vitality. But while there had been this general advance upon pagan ground there were striking evidences of the diversity of opinion among the Christians themselves concerning the fundamental doctrines of their faith. Nearly all the elements of the great controversies of the Church, beginning with the fourth century and extending down to the close of the seventh, are to be found in embryo in the second century, without doubt, one of the very necessities of an age when Christian truth was not as yet formularized, and each was left to the original word of revelation to derive his own inferences from it, that certain general divergences should arise. Differences of climate, education, temperament, ecclesiastical economy, and political circumstances became important factors in giving positive shape to these tendencies.

TRIUMPH OF
CHRISTIAN
THOUGHT.

The four great Christian schools were distinguished for their differences of interpretation and general theological methods, and gave tone to the thought of so much of the three great continents as had been reached by the Gospel. A fruitful ground of divergence in doctrine existed in the fundamental difference between the Grecian and the Roman minds. The warm controversial spirit of the Greek became more intense when, on the one hand, supported by his still more mercurial coreligionists of Asia Minor, Palestine, and the eastern half of North Africa, and, on the other, aroused by the

steady, practical, aggressive, and ambitious Christians of the West. The body of the Latin Church was content to follow the guidance of its spiritual leaders, but in the East every man assumed the right of discussion and conclusion. Even Cicero charged the Greeks of his day with a greater love of controversy than of the truth, while Gregory Nazianzen bears the following testimony to the universal participation of the population of Constantinople in the issues of the Arian controversy: "The city is full of people who dogmatize on incomprehensible questions. The streets and market places are the scenes of discussions by the old clo' dealers, the money changers, and the vendors of edibles. . . . If you inquire the price of bread, you will be replied to by, 'The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son is subordinate to the Father.' If you inquire, 'Is the bath ready?' you will be answered, 'The Son was created from nothing.'"¹

When once the controversial period was thoroughly introduced the relative difference became not only more marked but more influential. The monks proved to be no mean combatants. Looking upon every new advance in Christian thought as savoring either of sympathy with some form of pagan or Jewish thought or with such secular interests as arise from the busy contact with sinful society, they avowed themselves the champions of orthodoxy in all the lands bounded by the eastern half of the Mediterranean.

A marked feature of the controversial period were the complications of ecclesiastical and political life. An article in a creed of Christendom was often made to depend, at the Byzantine court, upon the schemes of a tricky eunuch or the blandishments of a beautiful woman of doubtful morals. The eastern emperors decided concerning the theological contestants, raising some to supreme ecclesiastical authority and banishing their adversaries on the weakest pretexts. But it is one of the peculiarities of history—and it would be a marvel but for the presence of the divine Hand in the career of the Church—that the leading doctrinal conclusions of the early councils were in strict conformity with the biblical basis, and were at once so complete and clear that all subsequent generations of orthodox Christians have accepted them as final. Nice and Chalcedon have not been equaled by Augsburg, Westminster, and Dort. "It is just as one-sided," says Hagenbach, "to ascribe the victory of orthodoxy to the combination of political power and monkish

¹ Cicero, *De Oratore*, i, ii; *Græculi homines contentiones cupidiores quam veritatis*; Gregory Naz., *Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus*, opp. iii, 466. Comp. Kurtz, *Handbuch d. allg. Kirchengeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 99, note.

intrigues as it is to deny these factors altogether. Much as there was of human passion and dogmatism intermingled with this strife, yet it is not wholly to be derived from such impure sources; but there must also be recognized a law of internal progress, determining the gradual and systematic unfolding of the dogmas."¹

¹History of Christian Doctrine, vol. i, p. 228.

LITERATURE OF ARIANISM.

I. Sources.—On the orthodox side consult Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, and *Contra Marcellum Ancyranum*, and the other historians, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; the works of Athanasius; Greg. Naz., *Orat. Theol.*; Greg. Nyss., *Contra Enoim.*; Hilary, *De Synodis*, and *De Trinitate*; Cyril, *Catecheses*; Ambrose, *De Fide*; Augustine, *De Trin.*, and *Contra Maximum Arianum*. Transactions of synods in Maasi, *Concil.*, vols. ii and iii. Of Arius parts of the *Thalia* and two epistles, one to Eusebius of Nicomedia and another to Alexander of Alexandria, are preserved in Athanasius, Epiphanius, Socrates, and Theodoret. See also Philostorgius, and *Fragmenta Arianorum*, in Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, Rom., 1828, vol. iii.

II. Modern writers:

1. Bull, G. *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, 1685. Transl. in *Library of Anglo-Cath. Theology*. Lond., 1851. Learned and thoroughgoing discussion of all pertinent passages in early Christian literature.
2. Maimburg, L. *Hist. de l'Arianisme*. Paris, 1675. Against the Jansenists.
3. Walch. *Vollständige Hist. der Ketzereien*. Leipz., 1762, ff., 11 vols. (to the 9th century). Dull, but a work of candor and exhaustive research.
4. Newman, J. H. *The Arians in the Fourth Century*. Lond., 1838; new ed., 1888. A good study, but should be read in connection with more recent discussions, especially Gwatkin. *Causes of the Rise and Success of Arianism*, in *Tracts Theol. and Eccl.*, Lond., 1874, pp. 137-390. An acute and admirable discussion. The four Latin dissertations in this book, pp. 1-92, and the fourth and fifth of the English essays, pp. 301-382, also bear on this general theme.
5. Baur, F. C. *Geschichte der Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menswerdung*. Tüb., 1841-43, vol. i, pp. 306-825.
6. Doerner, I. A. *History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*. Edinb., 1861-63, 5 vols. Masterly and exhaustive.
7. Böhringer, F. *Athanasius und Arius, oder der erste grosse Kampf der orthodoxie und heterodoxie*. Leipz., 1874.
8. Kölling, W. *Geschichte der arianischen Häresie bis zur Entscheidung in Nicæa*. Gütersloh, 1876, ff.
9. Gwatkin, H. M. *Studies in Arianism*. Lond., 1882. See *Church Quar. Rev.*, xvi, 375-403. *The Arian Controversy*. Lond. and N. Y., 1889 (*Epochs of Church History*). In this is a list of books, pp. ix-xi. Gwatkin is the best authority. He presents the matter in many new lights, with fine insight and historic impartiality. See S. A. Martin in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, i, 503; *Church Quar. Rev.*, xxx, 268.
10. Maly, C. *Der arianische Streit (bis zur Kirchenversammlung zu Nicæa)*. in *Jahresbericht d. K. K. Gymnasiums in Mähr. Weisskirchen*, 1889-90. See H. M. Scott, in *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, ii, 336.
11. Bright, Wm. *The Issues and Lessons of Arianism*, in *Waymarks of Church History*. Lond., 1894, pp. 56, ff., 361, 364, 367.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTROVERSY ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST—ARIANISM.

A. D. 318-381.

THE Arian controversy, the first in the long series, turned upon what has been recognized in all times as the central fact of Christianity, the divinity of Jesus Christ. Its scene was Alexandria, Palestine, and Constantinople. Its chief sources lay in the vague teachings of the Antiochian school and the incongruities of the theology of Origen. It had played an important part in the heresies of the Ebionites, of Artemon and Theodotus. The Church, at its very outset, recognized the person of its Founder as the foundation of its entire claim to human indorsement. And the enemies of Christianity, as their attacks invariably proved, were equally clear in their conviction that with the overthrow of this doctrine their end would be essentially gained. There can be no greater error, however, than to suppose that the Arian controversy affected only the one doctrine of the divinity of Christ. At every stage of its progress it bore upon the whole divine nature of the Godhead.

PERS IN OF
CHRIST THE
CENTER OF
CHRISTIAN
THEOLOGY.

The Arian controversy falls into two periods. The former extends from its rise to the time of its greatest violence, at the death of Constantius, or A. D. 318-361. The second continued from the beginning of Julian's reign to the extinction of Arianism proper by the decrees of the second council of Constantinople, or A. D. 361-381. The controversy bore, at the very outset, the impress of the fundamental difference between the vague eclectic school of Antioch and the exact and severe school of Alexandria. Arius, a native of Libya, or Cyrenaica, now a presbyter of Alexandria, preserved his Antiochian bias, which laid great stress on the unity of the divine nature and distinguished very sharply between the persons of the Godhead. Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Leontius, and others derived their theology directly from Lucian, whose pupils they had been. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, advocated with great zeal the eternal sonship of Christ and his equality with the Father. Arius arrayed himself publicly in opposition to Alexander, in the year 318. He contended that there was a time when the Son did not exist (*ἦν ὅτε*

THE TWO PER-
IODS OF THE
ARIAN CON-
TROVERSY.

ὁὐκ ἦν); that, having a beginning, he could not be of the same essence with the Father; that he was "a creature, yet not as one of the creatures;" that he was, however, creator of the universe, the Father only creating through his agency: that he was divinely illuminated and called the Logos: that Christ's knowledge was limited and that his will was changeable; and that the Holy Ghost is subordinate to the Son as the Son is to the Father.

The issue between Arius and his bishop was clearly defined. Comparing the exact statements of the two, we find an agreement on the Son of God as a derived existence and as generated by the Father, and also that Christ, in any case, finite or infinite, was the all-perfect Saviour. The difference lay, at first, in assigning to Christ his proper rank in the universe.¹ The orthodox, as represented by Alexander, claimed, first, that his generation was from eternity, and hence co-eval with the Father; and, second, that the Son was so derived of and from the Father that he was of the same essence with the Father (*ὁμοούσιος*). Both these doctrines were denied by Arius and his followers.

For a time the controversy was confined to Arius and his bishop. The opinions of the former gained greater force because of his pure life and apparent candor, his popular capacity, and the indomitable energy with which he advocated his principles. His only fault lay in his public and persistent denial of what had been regarded a fundamental doctrine of the Church. Alexander, failing to convince him of his error, summoned a synod, which met at Alexandria in 321 and condemned the opinions of Arius and deposed him from his office. But the severe purity of the life of Arius had already won the affections of some bishops and many monks and others who either practiced or sympathized with the ascetic life, and these became the nucleus of a strong Arian party. "His austere life and novel doctrines," says Gwatkin, "his dignified character and championship of 'common sense in religion,' made him the idol of the ladies and the common people. . . . He knew how to cultivate his popularity by pastoral visiting—his enemies called it canvassing—and by issuing a multitude of theological songs 'for sailors and millers and wayfarers,' as one of his admirers says. The excitement spread to every village in Egypt, and Christian divisions became a pleasant subject for the laughter of the heathen theaters."²

¹ Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 255.

² The Arian Controversy, Lond. and N. Y., 1889, pp. 14, 15. See also Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 19, and notes.

Constantine, regarding the controversy a mere battle of words, ordered both parties to desist from it. But when he learned through Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, his messenger to Alexandria, that the affair was one of great significance, he summoned a general council, which met at Nicæa in the year 325. No convention of representatives of the Christian Church is involved in such uncertainty as that at Nice. The exact date of the meeting, the president, the number of delegates, and the details of the discussions, are all involved in doubt. There were over three hundred bishops and many of the inferior clergy in attendance. Even certain of the heathen philosophers were present and actually took part in the discussions. That the controversy had agitated chiefly the East is clear from the fact that only a few delegates appeared from the West—Hosius of Cordova, Cæcilian of Carthage, and two Roman presbyters, Vito and Vincent. Besides these there was one bishop from Seythia and one from Persia. The sessions were at first held in a church, but after Constantine's arrival, a fortnight later, they were conducted in a palace. Here he acted as president. Arius and his friends seemed to have some prospect of a measure of success. Still, the great majority of the bishops had no thought of the Lord's divinity being an open question, and no sooner had Eusebius of Nicomedia, with a score or more of bishops, presented an Arian creed than the council, by a common impulse, rose as one man and tore the creed into pieces. Athanasius, a young deacon from Alexandria, whom Alexander had been wise enough to bring with him, was eloquent and enthusiastic. His voice expressed the sentiment of the great body of delegates, together with the sympathy of the emperor. His example and appeals won to the orthodox side all who hesitated. The confession which the Arians presented was repudiated, their leader was publicly excommunicated, his writings ordered to be burned, and decrees established which clearly and pointedly declared the identity of the Son's essence with that of the Father—"ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, γεννηθεὶς οὐ ποιηθεὶς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί."¹

CONSTANTINE
SUMMONING
THE COUNCIL
OF NICEA.

TRIUMPH OF
ATHANASIOS.

¹ The so-called Nicene creed used by the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican Churches was not the one established at Nicæa, but the "baptismal creed of the Church of Jerusalem, revised and enlarged by the meeting, and of elements of the creed of Nicæa," about 360-370. See Hort, *Two Dissertations*, ii. On the Constantinopolitan creed and other Eastern creeds of the Fourth Century, Camb., 1876; Gwatkin, *Arian Controversy*, pp. 159-161; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt; same in Schaaf-Herzog, art. Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed; Stanley, *Chr. Institutions*, 270, ff. The one established by the Nicene council is as follows: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker

This council, preferring to confine its attention simply to the one question of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, determined nothing positively concerning the mutual relations of the persons in the Trinity. Through Gregory Nazianzen this question received notice, but not final and authoritative, at the council of Constantinople, 381. The relation of the Spirit to the Trinity was decided, but not his relation to the Son and Father respectively. The Nicene council, however, did pass final decision on the Meletian schism and the Easter question.

Arius now became an exile in Illyria. His adversary, Athanasius, upon the death of Alexander succeeded the latter by acclamation as Bishop of Alexandria. Constantine, influenced by the persuasions of certain bishops, but more particularly by the entreaties of Constantia, widow of Licinius, invited Arius to his court. The emperor ordered Athanasius to receive Arius and his followers back into church fellowship, and threatened deposition and banishment as penalty of disobedience. But Athanasius refused compliance, and replied that he could not acknowledge as Christians those whom the whole Church had condemned. Constantine, who, like Elizabeth of England, had the rare quality of knowing when it was best to desist from the prosecution of a doubtful measure, dropped

of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and our salvation descended and became flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day. He ascended into heaven; he cometh to judge the quick and dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But those that say there was a time when he was not, or that he was not before he was begotten; or that he was made from that which had no being; or who affirm the Son of God to be of any other substance or essence, or created, or variable, or mutable, such persons doth the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematize." Comp. Walch, *Bibliotheca Symbolica vetus*, pp. 75, 76, and Mosheim, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. i, pp. 297, 298. Baur thus summarizes the Nicene position, as against that of Arius: "1. The Father would not be absolute God if he were not in his essence begetting, and so the Father of a Son of the same essence. 2. The idea of the divinity of the Son is abolished, if he is not Son by nature, but only through God's grace. If created, he were neither Son nor God; to be both creature and creator is a complete contradiction. 3. The unity of the finite with the infinite, of man with God, falls to the ground, if the mediator of this unity is only a creature, and not the absolute God." The Nicene creed was made by an enlargement of the creed of his own Church of Caesarea, proposed to the council by Eusebius, the historian. Comp. the two creeds in Gwatkin, *Arian Controversy*, pp. 26-30.

the subject for a time, until the Arians, who had condemned Athanasius at the synods of Casarea (334) and Tyre (335), made him believe that he was a political enemy, on the pretense of his having prevented the sailing of the Egyptian fleet with supplies for the new capital of Constantinople. He was banished, but received in a friendly spirit at the court of Treves by the younger Constantine, in 336. Arrangements were made for the restoration of Arius into church fellowship at Constantinople, in spite of the bishop of that diocese; but he died before the formal reception was to occur.

BANISHMENT
OF ATHANA-
SIUS.

The loss of the leader was far from proving fatal to his cause. It exhibited remarkable vitality, though no partisans have ever known a more capricious fortune. After the death of Constantine his son, Constantine II, restored Athanasius to his see, but the Arians found a firm friend in Constantius. The deposition of Athanasius was renewed, and he became an exile in Rome, where the sentiment was unanimously favorable to the Nicene decrees. The synod of Antioch, which attempted a compromise, proved a failure, while the general council of Sardica, in Illyria, 343, renewed the conclusions of Nice and restored Athanasius. The oriental delegates withdrew, formed a rival council at Philippopolis, in Thrace, and condemned and banished Athanasius, who now became a fugitive in the African desert. The emperor Constantius inspired these measures, and gave his support to their execution. The opposition to Arianism in the West was now only tacit and negative, while its progress was rapid throughout the East. The death of the emperor Constantius, in 361, wrought a complete change in the attitude of all the partisans. He was succeeded by Julian, who soon gave proof that his sympathies were thoroughly pagan.

VARYING FOR-
TUNES OF THE
ARIANS.

Here occurs an incident which has been made prominent in recent Roman Catholic controversies. Pope Liberius (352-366) was at first a pronounced advocate of the views of Athanasius. For this he was banished to Berea in Thrace. Afflictions did not seem to work in him the peaceable fruits of righteousness. He was at length persuaded to sign an Arian or Arianizing formula, and to excommunicate Athanasius, who mentions this fact tearfully, and in an apologetic tone, as though Liberius signed under the fear of death. He was then restored to his see. This has proved an inconvenient incident for the infallibilists, who try to break its force by various hypotheses.

LAPSE OF
LIBERIUS.

¹ The fact itself is well attested by Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 41; Sozomen, iv, 15; Jerome, *De Vir.* iii, 97; *Ep. Lib.*, in Hilary, *Frugm.* vi; Hilary, *Contra*

The second period of the Arian controversy opened with flattering prospects for the opponents of the Nicene council, but closed with the ascendancy of orthodoxy and the general condemnation, by the representatives of the Church, of the Arian heresy. Julian was the friend of all parties so far as they understood the science of controversy and the art of reciprocal destruction, and their foe so far as they exhibited any attachment to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. He recalled all the exiles. Among the number was the aged Athanasius, who returned to his beloved and loving people at Alexandria. The synod which met in 362 adopted conciliatory measures. Julian, who knew that Athanasius was its leading spirit and was now employing vigorous measures for the restoration of unity to the Church, banished him again. But the exile was restored by Jovian, the successor of Julian, only to be banished again by Valens. This exile lasted but four months. Athanasius returned to Alexandria, where after a long episcopate of forty-six years, twenty of which had been passed in exile, he ended his days in peace. Strong men, who shared both his heroism and his theology, conducted his cause with zeal and prudence. Theodosius the Great sympathized with them, and called the second general council, at Constantinople, in 381. Here the Nicene symbol was renewed, while the Arians were prohibited from holding service within the city walls. Theodosius issued an edict against the Arians in 383, and supplemented it, in the later years of his reign, by others against them and the remaining heresies.

Arianism, like the forms of deviation from evangelical standards

Const. Imp., 11. Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century*, Lond., 5th ed., 1893, pp. 316-323, gives a straightforward account of this "miserable apostasy," as he calls it in his work, which was written while he was an Anglican, 1833, but in the 3d ed., 1871, he makes no changes, presuming, doubtless, that in these bare statements of facts none were necessary. Alzog relegates the lapse of Liberius to a footnote, i, 542, and does not seek to break its force. His translators say that the damaging passages are interpolations, which, even if that were true of Athan., *Apologia contra Arianos*, 89, would hardly be true of every ancient witness. Ryder, *Cath. Controversy* [against Littledale], p. 28, says the pope was under coercion, but if he is a true pope let him, like Hildebrand, die in exile rather than buy peace by betraying the faith and excommunicating the father of orthodoxy. The case of Liberius is treated at length by Renouf, *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, Lond., 1868; Barreby, in Smith and Waite, *Bi.*, 717-724; Möller, in Herzog and Plitt; Dollinger, *Fables Respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages*, N. Y., 1872, pp. 183-197; Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 188-190: "Four writers independently mention the fall of Liberius; and there is nothing to set against them but the silence of Socrates and Theodoret. Believers in papal infallibility may hesitate, but the historian cannot."

THE ARIANS
FAVORED BY
JULIAN.

in every age, had its weakness in an inherent want of unity. Error is never at one with itself. The Arians became divided immediately after their defeat at Nicea. Failure, instead of uniting them, exposed their defects and subjected them to conflicting interests. In addition to the Arianism which first appeared at Alexandria there were two general tendencies, one toward a compromise with Alexandrian orthodoxy and the other toward schism and radical Unitarianism.

We find, therefore, three Arian parties: 1. Positive Arianism. This adhered to the teachings of Arius and his immediate followers. It was constantly undergoing change, its adherents passing over to extreme skepticism or returning to the orthodox standards. 2. The Semi-Arians, or Homologians. They declared a real similarity between the Son and the Father, *ὁμοούσιον*. They claimed that the Son of God was of like essence with the Father, yet that this did not occur by nature, but by grace. George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra were its chief leaders. This party constituted the conservative wing of Arianism and actually passed over to orthodoxy, even before the council of Constantinople, which gave the deathblow to Arianism within the bosom of the Church. 3. The Eunomians, or Anomæans, who held that Christ was dissimilar in essence and all respects from the Father—*ἕτεροούσιον*. There were other Arian sects, though of unimportant character, such as the Eusebians, Aëtians, Acacians, and Bathyrians. The rage of the parties, both of the orthodox and the Arians, and then of the Arians among themselves, was most violent about the close of the reign of Constantius. That ruler made the mistake of supposing that an imperial decree has any power either to calm or soften the asperity of a theological controversy, and only embittered the contestants by ordering the entire abandonment of the word essence (*οὐσία*), and the persecution of all Arian recalcitrants. The confusion was intense, and apparently hopeless, when his death occurred.¹

For a period of considerable length the Arian tendencies had been extremely popular in Constantinople. It was the battle ground where orthodoxy and heresy had free scope. The city itself being remote from the atmosphere of Alexandria and the personal influence of Athanasius, and Arianism having so many adherents in full confidence of the imperial head, the scales were evenly and badly balanced between truth and error. But many of the God-fearing were then in the city, and they generally adopted the views of Arius. Chrysostom preached against it, but his eloquence and zeal

¹ Kurtz, Abriss der Kirchengeschichte, pp. 43, 49.

had little effect on the barbarian portion of the population. The special service which he organized in the city, where the Bible was read and sermons were preached in the Gothic language, had, however, an important bearing on the evangelization of the Gothic tribes.¹ Ulfilas, a bishop of the Visigoths, began his labors among

his people during the reign of Constantine, and conducted many important negotiations between them and the Roman empire. He adopted a mild type of Arianism, and through him and other teachers nearly the entire tribe of Visigoths accepted Arianism.²

Other barbarian peoples likewise became Arian, not from any preference for the heresy, but because the apostles of Christ to them were of that type. Gwatkin has this excellent remark: "No false system ever struck more directly at the life of Christianity than Arianism. Yet after all it held aloft the Lord's example as the Son of man and never wavered in its worship of him as the Son of God. On its own principles this was absolutely heathen creature worship. Yet the work of Ulfilas is an abiding witness that faith is able to assimilate the strangest errors; and the conversion of the northern nations remains in evidence that Christianity can be a power of life even in its most degraded forms."³ About the year 463 the Burgundians on the Rhine also exchanged their evangelical faith for Arianism, though, of course, without knowing anything of the important distinctions involved between orthodoxy and the heresy. The Vandals and Moors of northern Africa were also Arian, but, these peoples, having rebelled, were conquered during the reign of Justinian, and with their extermination was also destroyed in Africa the error which they had introduced and professed. It is estimated that Africa lost, because of the rebellion, five millions of inhabitants. Near the close of the sixth century, in the year 580, the only people of Arian preference were the Lombards.

¹ Theodoret, v, 30; Stephens, *Life of St. John Chrysostom*, 3d ed., Lond., 1883, pp. 237, 238.

² *The Gospels of Ulfilas*, Stockholm.

³ *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 28, 29.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST—APOLLINARIST, NESTORIAN, AND
KINDRED CONTROVERSIES.

A. D. 362-690.

THE discussions concerning Christ in all times have necessarily dealt with either his pretemporal and divine or with his historical and incarnate existence. The Arian controversy was employed solely upon the former—Christ in his divine and eternal relations with the Father. But the intimate connection between the two departments enforced as well the careful consideration of the second—the person of Christ in his incarnate and present existence. Consequently, in the very midst of the discussions on the divine nature of Christ there arose the Christological contro-
versies. They raged with great violence, and survived the Arian strife by about three centuries, and, in certain forms, still exist in some parts of the Orient. Neither the council of Nicæa nor the general judgment of the Church had as yet reached any definite conclusion on one of the most important parts of Christ's human nature, namely, his true human soul. Other themes had received attention, and yet it was evident that the question whether the human nature of Christ must be conceived as personal or impersonal must be subjected to investigation.

RISE OF CHRIS-
TOLOGICAL
CONTROVER-
SIES.

1. APOLLINARISM. The representative of the transition to this new and important field of inquiry was Apollinaris; or, as Dörner says, "He was the turning point at which the Church ceased to devote that exclusive attention to the doc-
trine of the Trinity which it had for a considerable time devoted, and began those Christological investigations which engaged its powers unremittedly, especially in the East, during centuries to come."

APOLLINARISM.

Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, believed that the faith of the Church concerning the nature of Christ preserved certain pagan and Judaistic elements. He proposed to eliminate these, and thereby to establish the sinlessness of Jesus. He feared a double personality of Christ, but in avoiding this he erred in denying his

¹ Hist. Development of the Doctr. of the Person of Christ, vol. ii, pp. 352, 353.

integral humanity, adopting the psychological trichotomy of Plato, or the division of man into body (*σῶμα*), animal or vital soul (*ψυχή*), and intellectual or rational soul (*νοῦς*). He here gives no place to the human reason or spirit, but substitutes for it the divine Logos, who first attained a personal existence in the man Jesus. By transferring the human attributes to the divine nature, and the divine to the human, and merging the two OPINIONS OF APOLLINARIS. in Christ, Apollinaris made of Christ's humanity a mixed thing.¹ He even justified his position by the analogies of the mule (half horse and half ass), the gray color (combination of white and black), and spring (having the characteristics of summer and winter). The flesh and soul of man were assumed, but not the human spirit, on the ground that the union of full divinity and humanity in one was impossible. Still, Christ is one essence (*μία φύσις*)—the unity of the person (volition and thought) and the essential unity of the two aspects, human and divine. He allowed no place for Christ's growth in wisdom, grace, or any respect, but regarded his humanity as eternally complete—*κατὰ τὸ κριώτατον*. He allowed no historical mediation, but described magnitudes already complete. Perfection predominates over reconciliation and redemption. The divine is all that is active in Christ, while the human is only the organ for revealing the divine. This curtailment of the human nature in Christ very justly subjected him to the charge of Docetism.

The views of Apollinaris were indorsed by very many Christians in the East, especially those who feared the Arian evil of limiting the divine nature of Christ. His scholarship, piety, CONDEMNATION OF APOLLINARISM. and able attacks on the skepticism of Porphyry and Julian gave him consideration in many circles who saw the fallacy of his teachings and their danger to the Church. His doctrines were, therefore, met by vigorous measures. They were condemned by a council at Alexandria in the year 362, and by the councils at Rome under Damasus in 377 and 378. The most powerful opposition, however, was at the second ecumenical council of Constantinople, 381, which condemned them in great clearness and positiveness. Imperial decrees, as was the fashion of the age, were directed against them in the years 388, 397, and 428. Apollinaris withdrew from the Church in 375, and died in 390.

2. NESTORIANISM. The scene of the Nestorian controversy

¹ His exact language was: Christ is *ὅτε ἀνθρώπος ὡς ἄλλος, αἵ τε δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου μίσις*. Comp. Schaaff, Hist. Ch., vol. iii, pp. 710, 711. Other expressions of Apollinaris show that he did not accept the term *mixtura* in its fullest sense. Walch, Gesch. Kotzer., vol. iii, pp. 193, ff.

of wide extent, embracing Syria, Cilicia, Bithynia, Moesia, Isauria, and Cappadocia. Of all the Christological heresies none was advanced with more energy and skill, was more violently assailed, more profoundly affected the emotional life of the Church, or possessed such marvelous vitality. Like Apollinarism, it also was a product of restless, speculative, and inventive Antioch.

Nestorius, at first monk, and then a presbyter of that NESTORIUS. city, by the force of his energy and ambition and fervid eloquence, became, in the year 428, Patriarch of Constantinople. He saw the danger of Arianism, and arrayed himself, with all the power of his genius and position, against its adherents. He was attracted toward the Pelagians because of the honorable place which the free will occupied in their theology. The term "Mother of God" (*θεοτόκος*), which had been frequently applied to the Virgin Mary by the Alexandrian school, and by such teachers as Origen, Athanasius, Basil, and others, was offensive to him, on the ground that Mary could give birth only to Christ, but not to deity, and he opposed it with great vigor. The controversy now became bitter, and, as was the case generally with the theological strifes of this period, it turned upon a single expression, *theotokos*. It became the watchword of the times.

The general opinions of Nestorius were: There are three persons in the Godhead, and one divine essence, as stated by the Nicene formulas; Christ possessed two natures, the divine and OPINIONS OF NESTORIUS. human; yet, there are not two persons—two Christs, two Sons, two Lords—but only one; there was a perfect union between the perfect God, the Word, and man, which is expressed by the term *συνάφεια* (connection); God and man, humanity and divinity, the two natures, substances, hypostases, were united, but not the two persons; there was no cessation of the properties of the two natures, though the union was inseparable; the union commenced with the conception of Christ in the womb of his mother; there was a communion or intercourse of the two natures, and yet each has its personal properties; while there is a union of the two natures, one is not distinct from the other; while the Scriptures attribute to Christ both divine and human attributes and acts, these are different in character—one class being the sublime and God-befitting, which must be referred to the divine nature, and the inferior to the human nature; the term mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*) was better than mother of God, because the former expressed the complex person of the Son of God.¹

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, saw in the views of Nestorius a

¹ Walch, *Gesch. Ketzer.*, vol. v, pp. 778, ff.

dangerous heresy. He remonstrated with their author, though without effect. He then invoked the aid of the court by writing to the emperor, the empress Eudokia, and the emperor's sister, Pulcheria. He finally appealed to the Roman bishop, Celestine, who condemned Nestorius and his doctrines at a Roman council, and deposed Nestorius from the patriarchate unless he should retract within ten days. But Nestorius stood fast. Then Cyril, at a synod of Alexandria (A. D. 430), presented twelve condemnatory articles against Nestorius and his views. Nestorius replied by an equal number of counter anathemas, and charged his opponents with Apollinarianism.

It was now a controversy of the two powerful patriarchates of Alexandria and Constantinople. The deepest passions of the East were aroused to a degree not surpassed in the entire history of religious discussion. The emperor, Theodosius II, who was in sympathy with Nestorius, summoned the third general council, that of Ephesus, in 431, for the settlement of the questions at issue. Cyril, determined on victory, brought with him a great number of attendants. He was supported by the populace and the monks. Nestorius not making his appearance, Cyril commenced the council without him, with two hundred bishops in attendance. Nestorius was three times summoned to appear, but refused to do so until the arrival of the Antiochian bishops. He was accordingly deposed and excommunicated. He immediately appealed to the emperor, who, by his commissioner, declared the decrees invalid, owing to the presence of only a portion of the delegates. John of Antioch, who was in sympathy with Nestorius, now reached Ephesus, and immediately convened a rival council, with forty-two bishops. Here Cyril, with Memnon of Ephesus, was excommunicated. Dele-

FINAL DEFEAT
OF NESTORIAN-
ISM IN THE RO-
MAN EMPIRE.

gates from Rome arriving, Cyril held a second session, and six canons were adopted against the opinions of both Nestorius and Pelagius. The emperor was now appealed to by both parties, and he finally accepted a compromising confession, in 432, prepared by Theodoret. This was acceded to by Cyril; and John of Antioch, now joining the strong party of the latter, subscribed it, and in doing so joined in the condemnation of Nestorius and his opinions. Nestorius, now forsaken by his chief supporter, the representative of the Antiochian school, was helpless. He was banished, and died in obscurity. All trace of his opinions disappeared from the Roman empire by the dissolution of the theological school of Edessa by the emperor Zeno in 489.

Nestorianism, however, with a singular power of endurance, took

refuge in the mountains of Armenia, and in the Persian plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates refugee teachers from Edessa were cordially welcomed. The Persian kings, animated by jealousy of Constantinople, nourished the heresy, and its devotees took the name of Chaldaic or Assyrian Christians. They had a patriarch who resided in the double city of Seleucia Ctesiphon after 496, and after 762 in Bagdad. It spread through Tartary, Arabia, and eastward as far as India and China. Its zeal in extending its influence was always very great, and with the dissemination of its opinions it united rare skill in establishing hospitals and schools. Alexander von Humboldt thus testifies to the contributions of the Nestorians to the sciences and arts in the East:

NESTORIANS
STRONG IN
ARMENIA AND
PARTHIA
EAST.

“It was one of the wondrous arrangements of the system of things that the Christian sect of the Nestorians, which has exerted a very important influence on the geographical extension of knowledge, was of service even to the Arabians before the latter found their way to learned and disputatious Alexandria; that Christian Nestorianism, in fact, under the protection of the arms of Islam, was able to penetrate far into eastern Asia. The Arabians, in other words, gained their first acquaintance with Grecian literature through the Syrians, a kindred Semitic race; while the Syrians themselves, scarcely a century and a half before, had first received the knowledge of Grecian literature through the anathematized Nestorians. Physicians who had been educated in the institutions of the Greeks, and at the celebrated medical school founded by the Nestorian Christians at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, were living in Mecca so early as the times of Mohammed, befriended by him and by Abu-Bekr.

HUMBOLDT'S
TRIBUTE TO
SERVICE OF
THE NESTO-
RIANS TO
SCIENCE.

“The school of Edessa, a model of the Benedictine schools of Monte Casino and Salerno, awakened the scientific search for *materia medica* in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms. When it was dissolved by Christian fanaticism under Zeno the Isaurian, the Nestorians scattered toward Persia, where they soon attained political importance, and established a new and thronged medical institute at Dschondisapur, in Khuzistan. They succeeded in spreading their science and faith to China toward the middle of the seventh century, under the dynasty of Tang, five hundred and seventy-two years after Buddhism had penetrated thither into India.

“The seed of Western culture, scattered in Persia by educated monks and by the philosophers of the last Platonic school of

Athens, who were persecuted by Justinian, took beneficent root among the Arabians during their first Asiatic campaign. Feeble as the science of the Nestorian priests may have been, it could still, with its peculiar medical and pharmaceutic turn, act genially upon a race which had long lived in free converse with nature, and had preserved a more fresh sensibility to every sort of study of nature than the people of Greek and Italian cities. What gives the Arabian epoch the universal importance which we must here insist upon is in great part connected with the trait of national character just indicated. The Arabians, we repeat, are to be regarded as the proper founders of the *physical sciences*, in the sense which we are now accustomed to attach to the word."¹

Nestorianism has undergone many changes, in view of the unsettled life by which it has been surrounded. It was protected by the Tartars in the eleventh century, two of whose kings, Prester John and his successor, were converted to Christianity through its instrumentality. The Mongolian dynasty persecuted them with great severity, and they were nearly destroyed by Tamerlane in the fourteenth century. They are now nearly altogether confined to the eastern parts of the Turkish empire. Their patriarch resided from 1559 until the seventeenth century in Mosul, but now dwells in the easternmost part of Turkey, near Persia. A sect of Nestorians now dwell on the coast of Malabar, and are called Thomas Christians, after one of the first Nestorian apostles. The Nestorians of Turkey have been greatly benefited by the missionary labors of the representatives of the American Board, and a very important literature has taken rise from the efforts to evangelize them. They are very poor and have lost all power of extending their doctrines and influence. Like their founder, they repudiate the worship of Mary. They also reject the use of images and the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation. Their patriarch eats no flesh. They have many fasts. They have eight orders of the priesthood, the five lower of which can marry.²

3. EUTYCHIANISM.—The principal scene of the Monophysite controversy was Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. This was inaugurated by Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople. He held that Christ after his incarnation had only one nature, namely, that of the Logos, but that the body of Christ is not of like substance with ours. This view was declared by many to be a denial of the true humanity of

WIDE TERRITORY OF MODERN NESTORIANISM.

EUTYCHES IN-
AUGURATING
THE MONOPHY-
SITE CONTRO-
VERSY.

¹ Kosmos, Stutt. and Tüb., 1847, pp. 247, ff.

² Comp. Mosheim, Ch. Hist., vol. i, pp. 372, 373, notes; Schaff, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. iii, pp. 729-732.

Christ. Domnus, Patriarch of Constantinople, brought charges against Eutyches before the emperor, Theodosius II. The patriarch Flavian convened a synod at Constantinople in 448, where Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaum, in Phrygia, accused Eutyches of heresy. Here Eutyches was deposed and excommunicated. He, however, appealed to the bishop, Leo the Great, at Rome. Flavian also presented himself to Leo, who took side with Flavian and condemned the doctrine of Eutyches. The emperor, Theodosius II, now convoked an ecumenical council at Ephesus, A. D. 449. Great violence characterized the proceedings. Violent language and even blows were employed to establish the doctrines of Eutyches. To Eusebius, who defended the two natures in Christ, the shout was made, "Away with him! Burn him! Tear him in two pieces, as he has torn the Christ!" The council declared in favor of the one nature in Christ. Flavian, who suffered from blows and kicks, was banished, and died shortly afterward. This council was called the Robber Synod (*Latrocinium Ephesinum*). Theodosius II died in 450, and was succeeded by Marcian, who called the fourth ecumenical council, that of Chalcedon, in 451.

The result of this council was unfavorable to the doctrines of Eutyches. The orthodox statement was made to read: "That after Christ's incarnation the unity of the person consists in two natures, which are conjoined without confusion and without change, but also without rendering and without separation."

COUNCIL OF
CHALCEDON
AGAINST THE
DOCTRINE OF
EUTYCHES.

The decision of Chalcedon brought no peace to the Church. A large portion of the Egyptian party opposed it with great violence and took its place in the annals of the Church as the Monophysites. The theologians of Alexandria returned from Chalcedon with a determination to keep up the bitter fight among the people. Here they had cordial support, especially among the monks and common people. Popular violence was frequent. Theology and politics were common factors in disputes and bloodshed. During a long series of years—from A. D. 451 to 519—the emperors made repeated efforts to unite the warring factions. At one time the Monophysites were in the ascendancy, and then the friends of the statement of Chalcedon were victorious. The Bishop of Rome adhered to the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, while the prevailing Eastern tendency was toward the Monophysite view. The bishop, Felix III of Rome, on this account refused to have Church fellowship with Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople. Out of this arose a schism of thirty-five years between the East and the West, A. D. 484–519.

DIVISIONS
AFTER THE
COUNCIL OF
CHALCEDON.

We now come to the brilliant reign of Justinian, and the part taken by that great emperor toward a unification of the theological factions of the Church. He resolved to bring peace to the theological world, and toward that end he brought his brilliant faculties to bear. He firmly believed in the statement of the Chalcedon council concerning the two natures in Christ, and was therefore opposed to the Monophysite heresy. Great as was his wisdom in civil administration, he was a mere child in the management of great theological questions. The intrigues of the court, and especially the shrewd management of his wife, Theodora, who was secretly a staunch Monophysite, placed him largely at the mercy of others. He was persuaded to give consent to the liturgical addition of the original Monophysite formula, "God is crucified." But neither party was long in the ascendancy with Justinian. The empress Theodora and the leading advocates of the Monophysites secured from the emperor, by the edict of A. D. 544, the condemnation of the three chief Syrian teachers against Cyril, whose alleged errors were composed in Three Chapters. The controversy on the Three Chapters broke out in great violence throughout the Church, the East favoring the edict and the West violently opposing it. Justinian convened the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople A. D. 553, which reached conclusions in harmony with those of Chalcedon, and therefore against the Monophysites.

This measure to secure unity in the Church failed of its object. The Egyptian Monophysites, who were more numerous than elsewhere, would not harmonize with the general body of the orthodox because of their antagonism to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. They assumed a position of extreme violence, and as an evidence of their opposition to the Greek Church prohibited the use of the Greek language in their service. They even assumed an unpatriotic attitude, and favored the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens. But they soon fell into internal dissensions, which brought them more serious disasters than the opposition of the emperor and the great body of the Greek Church. Alexandria, which was the center of the Monophysite heresy, was divided into two great parties. Severus taught that the body of Christ had been, before the resurrection, intrinsically corruptible, a view vigorously denied by Julian and his party. Another sect was the Tritheists, and from them came a secession under the leadership of Conon, Bishop of Tarsus. His followers were called the Cononites, who held that there would be only a formal, not a real, destruction of the world, and that the saints

FAILURE OF
EFFORTS FOR
HARMONY.

would possess their earthly bodies, but transformed according to their new life.

The Monophysites, because of the opposition of the emperor and the general body of the Greek Church, and because of their internal dissensions and violent measures, were hopelessly divided. Their only safety lay in their dispersion. Some of their number went to Abyssinia, where they gained a footing and gave a Monophysite character to the Christianity of that country. In Armenia they became firmly established, and were distinguished for their literary activity in both the eighth and the twelfth centuries by the translation of classic authors and the Church Fathers, and by original investigation. The Jacobite Church took its name from Jacob Zanzalus. Its principal stronghold was Syria. Its greatest scholar was George, Bishop of the Arabs, who died A. D. 740. He was a profound Greek scholar, translated the *Organon* of Aristotle and annotated it. His theological labors were in history, doctrine, exegesis, and other fields. Gregory Abulfaragius was another brilliant ornament of the Jacobite-Syrian Church. In addition to other works must be mentioned his *Chronicon Syriacum*. The Copts of Egypt, who were in sympathy with the Monophysites, were nearly destroyed by the Fatimide Califs. But a feeble remnant still exists.

The Monothelite controversy arose out of the great Monophysite movement. The emperor Heraclius (611-641) endeavored to reconcile the factions and to secure the return of the Monophysites to the Church. In 622 he held conferences with several Monophysite leaders, who informed him that in all probability the great body of their members would return to fellowship with the Greek Church if a proposition should be presented that in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, USE OF THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY. but one will and operation. The emperor issued an edict to that effect, which was an indorsement of Monothelitism. The indications were at first favorable to its reception, and many Monophysites returned to communion with the Church.

In due time, however, strong opposition arose. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to Honorius (pope, 625-638), explaining the Monothelite doctrines, and received from Honorius a letter in which he committed himself to that heresy. Honorius explicitly declared for the one will.

This has proved a distressing circumstance to the Roman Catholic historians, who are bound to maintain that no pope ever erred when speaking officially on a matter of faith. At the general council

¹ Harduin, iii, 1320-1322; Robertson, *Hist. of the Church*, ii, 39, 49.

of Constantinople, in 680, he was condemned for heresy in the most solemn manner, and "not a single voice," says Dollinger, "not even of the papal legates who were present, was raised in his defense. His dogmatic writings were committed to the flames as heretical. The popes submitted to the inevitable; they subscribed the anathema, and themselves undertook to see that the 'heretic' Honorius was condemned in the West as well as throughout the East, and his name struck out of the liturgy. This one fact—that a great council, universally received afterward without hesitation throughout the Church, and presided over by papal legates, pronounced the dogmatic decision of a pope heretical and anathematized him by name as a heretic—is a proof, clear as noonday, that the notion of any peculiar enlightenment or inerrancy of the popes was then utterly unknown in the whole Church.

"The only resource of the defenders of papal infallibility since Torquemada and Bellarmine has been to attack the acts of the council as spurious, and maintain that they are a wholesale forgery by the Greeks. The Jesuits clung tenaciously to this notion till the middle of the last century. Since it has had to be abandoned the device has been to try and torture the words of Honorius into a sort of orthodox sense. But whatever comes of that, nothing can alter the fact that at the time both councils and popes were convinced of the fallibility of the pope."

Pope Leo II expressly approved of the condemnation of Honorius by the council, on the ground that the pope, instead of "purifying the Church by the doctrine of apostolical tradition, yielded its spotlessness to be defiled by profane betrayal of the faith."¹ He also says that instead of "extinguishing the flame of heretical doctrine he nourished it."² Since the infallibility dogma we could not imagine a pope saying that of another pope.³

¹ Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, Bost., 1870, pp. 60, 61.

² Harduin, iii, 1476; Mansi, xi, 781.

³ *Ibid.*, 1730.

⁴ Ryder, *Cath. Controversy*, p. 29, saves the pope by saying that his letters did not amount to a dogmatic definition. But the letters were explicit, and were written in answer to a formal application for an opinion on the part of three Eastern patriarchs. See the question discussed at length in Dollinger, *Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 223-254; *Nelela, Honorius und d. sechste allgem. Concil.*, Tüb., 1870; Rencuf, *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, Lond., 1868, and *The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered*, Lond., 1869; Gratry, *Two Letters to the Bishop of Orleans*, Lond., 1870; Schmeemann, *Studien über die Honoriusfrage*, 1864; Reinering, *Beitrag zur Honorius- und Liberiusfrage*, 1865; Rückgaber, *Die Lehre d. Honorius*, Stutt., 1871; Willis, *Pope Honorius and the New Roman Dogma*, Lond., 1879. For

Sophronius, Bishop of Jerusalem, convened a council and secured the condemnation of Monothelitism, under the charge that it was only another form of the Monophysite heresy. The emperor, in 638, issued an edict establishing the doctrine of the one will in Christ. This edict bore the name of the Ekthesis. But no harmony came from this bold step. North Africa became the central scene of conflict. There was held at Carthage, A. D. 645, a public disputation between the monk Maximus and Pyrrhus, the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople—the former opposing and the latter defending the doctrine of the one will. An African general synod, A. D. 646, condemned Monothelitism, but the strife continued as before. There was no imperial policy which extended beyond one reign. When Constans II (642–668) came into power he revoked the edict of his predecessor, and in its place issued the *Typus*, A. D. 648, which restored the original state of things, and declared that neither the one nor the two wills should be enforced. This brought the Roman bishop, Martin I, to take a bold stand against the emperor, and at the Lateran synod of Rome, A. D. 649, secured the condemnation of both the Ekthesis and the *Typus* and their two imperial authors. The whole Christian world was now startled by an imperial order, issued to the Byzantine exarch at Ravenna, that the Roman bishop should be sent to Constantinople. This was actually done, Martin I being brought in chains to the emperor, Constans II. He was banished to the Chersonesus, and died there A. D. 655.

The persecution of all who opposed the *Typus* issued by Constans II continued until his death. But after that event, when Constantine Pogonatus ascended the imperial throne, the rage of the parties broke out afresh. At a synod at Rome, A. D. 679, convoked by Pope Agatho, the decisions of the Lateran synod were confirmed. Now came the deathblow to the Monothelites as a powerful organization in the Church. The emperor convened the sixth general council at Constantinople, in the imperial palace, A. D. 680. It is called the first Trullan council, because of the resemblance of the hall to a mussel. The emperor presided in person. The decisions of the council of Nicaea were reaffirmed, the two wills in Christ were

PUBLIC DIS-
PUTATION ON
THE ONE WILL.

THE ROMAN
BISHOP IN CON-
STANTINOPLE.

SUPPRESSION
OF THE MO-
NOTHELITES.

several centuries every pope, at his coronation, had to renew the anathema against Honorius. Leo II even wrote to the Spanish bishops that Honorius and his accomplices in heresy were "involved in an eternal condemnation"—*in eterna condemnatione mulctati sunt*. Mansi, xi, 1052. Barmby, in Smith and Wace, gives a fair and clear account.

declared, and the Monothelites were anathematized. Pope Leo II addressed a letter to the emperor in which he approved the action of the council.

One more imperial effort was made to restore the power of the Monothelites. Here it must be said that the imperial administration, whoever was the occupant of the throne, was generally shaped by policy. The Monothelites were favored or opposed, as might be of most political advantage to the existing ruler. The emperor, Philip Bardanes (711-715), had reached the throne by the murder of Justinian II, and he thought that by favoring the Monothelites he might strengthen his feeble hold upon the throne. He gave orders to the Greek clergy to condemn the decisions of the sixth ecumenical council, and demanded that the Roman clergy should accept his view of the one will in Christ. This they not only refused to do, but excluded the emperor's name from the public prayer. The reign of Bardanes was brief, and with his death all imperial support of Monothelitism ceased.

Only in weak fragments the Monothelites now continued to exist. The most important was the little body which made its home in the monastery of St. Marco, in the Lebanon mountains.

The Maronites continued as a Monothelite sect down to the Crusades, when, in 1182, they abandoned their peculiar view and recognized the primacy of the Roman bishop. They continue to exist down to our day, and while retaining their own ritual and a certain denominational independence acknowledge the decrees of the council of Trent. Their present number is about two hundred thousand.

FINAL EFFORT
TO SAVE THE
MONOTHELITES.

FRAGMENTS OF
THE MONOTHE-
LITES.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRITUALISM AND REALISM—ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES.

GREAT as Origen was in life, his influence after death was far greater. Two important controversies arose concerning his doctrines. The first prevailed in the Scetic and Nitrian deserts, Palestine, and Italy, and continued from A. D. 394 to 399. The second was confined to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Palestine, and extended from A. D. 399 to 553. The mystical views of Origen were adopted by his supporters, while a crude anthropomorphism was adopted by his enemies. These two tendencies lay at the root of the great controversies that revolved around the writings of Origen.¹

ORIGENISTIC
CONTROVER-
SIES.

Origen was in general favor at first with the great body of the Church, whose creed was expressed in the Nicene formula. But the followers of Arius claimed to find in Origen support for their denial of the divinity of Christ and lauded his opinions in their writings.² This gave great offense to the monks of the Scetic and Nitrian deserts, who went so far as to pronounce Origen a heretic, on the ground of his mysticism. Pachomius, of the Scetic desert, represented the opposition to the mystical speculations of Origen, while a monastic order of the Nitrian desert was as vigorous in defense of him. In Palestine the most vigorous supporter of Origen was John, Bishop of Jerusalem, while Epiphanius, took ground against Origen's views.

FRIENDS AND
FOES OF
ORIGEN.

Jerome, originally in sympathy with the Origenistic views, had now declared against them, and thrust himself with all zeal into the controversy. Rufinus was equally fervent in support of Origen. Between these two men the contest was bitter. The Roman bishop, Siricius, favored Rufinus, but his successor opposed him, and in a letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem condemned the opinions of Origen.

In Alexandria and Constantinople the controversy was violent in

¹ Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i, 317-323; ii, 249-258; *Mercy and Judgment*, 298-300. Doucin, *Hist. de l'Origenisme*.

² Origen was sound on the divinity of Christ. This is the opinion of Dufl, *Def. Fid. Nicen.*, c. ix; Waterland, *Defense of Some Queries*, xii. xvii. Athanasius appealed to him as authority for the Eternal Generation and Consubstantiality of the Son. See Huet, *Origen*, p. 123; Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i, 321.

the extreme. Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, had publicly sympathized with the Origenistic monks of the Nitrian desert, but afterward took ground against them. This incensed them to such a degree that they assailed him with clubs and compelled him to oppose the Origenistic views. In a synod at Alexandria, A. D. 399, Origen was condemned. This resulted in a military appearance of the Nitrian monks, who appealed to John Chrysostom of Constantinople. Chrysostom interceded for them. While the empress Eudoxia was favorable to the monks, the bold preaching of Chrysostom had offended her, and through her influence Chrysostom was banished. Because of a great popular uprising in favor of the great preacher his banishment was revoked. But it was again renewed A. D. 407, and he died on his way to Pityus, on the Black Sea. Yet his was the frequent history of the sufferer for conscience' sake. His greatest honors came after his death. Theodosius II, A. D. 438, had his bones brought back to Constantinople and placed in the vault reserved only for imperial dust.¹ The Origenistic controversies now came to an end. In the angry disputes on more important doctrinal questions they lost their importance, and even their identity.

The cause of these disputes over Origen was the profound and speculative character of much of his writings, his allegorical method of interpretation, and the freedom, breadth, and restlessness of his intellect. Besides, he threw out many things as tentative suggestions, *γυμνασίας χάριν*, as Photinus says, "by way of exercise, not positively or dogmatically."² Athanasius says that Origen had only written some things *ὡς ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων*, as a seeker for truth and as one wrestling with great thoughts.³ None of his contemporaries called him a heretic. After his death forgeries were circulated in his name, and his genuine books were garbled. His enemies were mostly narrow and intense bigots, and one of them, Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, seemed destitute of any redeeming trait whatever. It is one of the strange anomalies of this crooked world that one whose whole life, as Westcott says,⁴ "was, according to his own grand ideal, 'one unbroken prayer,' *μία προσευχή συνεχομένη*, one ceaseless effort after close fellowship with the Unseen and Eternal," should have been the occasion of one of the fiercest and most dangerous controversies ever waged in the history of the Church.

¹ Stephens, St. John Chrysostom, Lond., 1871, 3d ed., 1883, p. 388; Bus., Chrysostom, Lond., 1885; Faulkner, St. John Chrysostom, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1899, 237-253. ² Cod., 296. ³ Def. Nic. Fid., vi, § 27.

⁴ Religious Thought in the West, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, p. 205.

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1841-49, 12 tom. (Patr. Lat. xixii-xlvi), best ed. Transl. of many of his works in Oxford Library of the Fathers, 1838-54, 12 vols.; in T. and T. Clark's Library (by Dods and others), 1871-76, 15 vols.; and in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff, N. Y., 1886-88, 8 vols., best ed. Of the numerous works on Augustine the following may be mentioned:

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CHAPTER IX.

SIN AND GRACE—THE PELAGIAN, DONATIST, AND OTHER CONTROVERSIES.

THE scene of the Pelagian controversy was largely the Western Church, while its duration was from A. D. 412 to 529. There were certain groups of doctrinal questions which agitated particular regions; and failed to attract attention in others. All questions which related to the divinity and person of Christ were of profound interest to the Eastern mind, and only incidentally disturbed the Latin Church. Wherever the question of Christ's character and person was concerned the West was almost invariably orthodox, while the East was at least divided, and often the laxer view predominated. In the West the question of man's moral condition, and his part in his own salvation, was very early of profound interest. The opinion concerning sin and grace which prevailed in the Eastern Church was favorable to a large share of human ability toward salvation. The corruption of human nature and the necessity of divine grace for salvation were admitted. But large place was given to the human will in making free choice of salvation. The Gnostic view was that, while there are certain evils in human nature, and the disposition is warped by inherited infirmities, man is at liberty to choose salvation and is responsible for neglecting the offer of divine grace.

Some teachers of the Eastern Church admitted the human tendency to sin and the need of grace in Christ, and yet denied an actual innate depravity. The neo-Alexandrian school admitted the inheritance of sin from the fall of Adam, but would not, with this concession, grant the original depravity of our human nature. The school of Antioch shared the same view in a general way, admitting that in man there is an original element of evil, but that his salvation is to be effected by both the human will and the grace of God. Chrysostom denied the guilty nature of man by birth, and admitted his salvation by virtue of his own sinful acts.¹ The whole tendency of the Eastern mind was, therefore, toward synergism, or the cooperation of the

CONTROVERSY
CONCERNING
SIN AND
GRACE.

DIFFERENT
TEACHING IN
THE SCHOOLS.

¹ For an excellent exposition of Chrysostom's views on this, see Stephens, *Life of St. John Chrysostom*, pp. 394-401.

human and divine agents in achieving human salvation.¹ The Western view placed man's part in his own salvation in the background. He is sinful by nature. His condition is that of moral helplessness. The great representative of this view was Tertullian. He held that the human will was limited, and that divine grace was the chief factor in salvation. Monergism, or God as the only factor, was the central thought in his system of sin and grace. Tertullian's declaration—*tradux animæ tradux peccati*—was his solution of the whole question of the natural condition of the soul. The depth of its depravity was such that only divine grace could take the first and controlling part in the salvation of the soul.²

These conflicting tendencies were very decided, and gave color to the entire theology of the Eastern and Western sections of the Church. It was in the very nature of the times, while all fundamental theological questions were presenting themselves for discussion, that these views should come into closer conflict and should be represented by masterful teachers. In due time the leaders came to the front—Augustine as the champion of the Western, or monergistic, opinion, and Pelagius as the champion of the Eastern, or synergistic, view. In firm faith in the truth of Christianity, in purity of personal life, in zeal for the advancement of the Church, and in profound scholarship, Augustine stood not only in the front rank of the heroes for the faith in his own age, but possesses the same honorable position among the leaders of the Church in all ages.

Aurelius Augustinus was a native of Numidia. His devoted mother, Monica, was compelled to witness the disappointment of his youth and his indifference to all moral principles. But she had firm faith in his final rectitude of life and in his usefulness to the Church. Augustine, when living in Carthage, taught rhetoric.

¹ See Lacroix, *Wesleyan Synergism an Essential of Orthodox Catholicity*, in *Meth. Quar. Rev.*, Jan., 1880, pp. 5-31.

² Tertullian, *De Anim.*, xl, xli. He speaks of *vitiū originis*. But he still holds that evil has become only man's second nature, while his true nature is good. The divine in us is only overshadowed, not extinguished. With nearly all the Fathers before Augustine he defended the freedom of the will. *Adv. Marc.*, ii, 6, 8, 9. They know nothing of the later doctrine of the necessary servitude of the will to evil. "Even the opponents of the doctrine of human liberty, as Calvin, are compelled to acknowledge this remarkable consensus Patrum of the first period; and in order to account for it they are obliged to suppose a general illusion about the doctrine! 'It is any rate a remarkable phenomenon that the very doctrines which afterward caused disruptions in the Christian Church are scarcely ever mentioned in the Primitive Church,' Daniel, Tatian, s. 200."—Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctr.*, Edinb., 1890, i, 220.

For nine years he adhered to the Manichean philosophy, opposed the Christian system, and the Platonic system was the only bond which held him within the least sympathy with Christianity. On leaving Carthage he proceeded to Rome, and afterward to Milan. His mother was at once his constant companion and devoted friend. In Milan his mind underwent a total transformation through the sermons, example, and personal influence of the venerable Ambrose. Simplicissimus was also helpful toward his departure from his Manichean and pagan environment. He was thrown into the deepest contrition of heart, a picture of which he has given in his immortal book, the "Confessions." He seemed to hear a voice which said, "Tolle; lege!" It was his call to examine God's word. He was converted, and was baptized by Ambrose. He now gave up his work as a teacher of rhetoric, regarded Africa as his proper field of labor, went thither first as a presbyter, and later as Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Numidia. He died A. D. 430.

During the early period of Augustine's teaching he favored a larger place to the human will as an agent of salvation. But as he advanced in his system he gave greater prominence to divine grace, and finally gave it nearly the sole place. He regarded man as originally free, but that this freedom was forfeited by his own act, and that all which was left was his power to be saved by the operation of divine grace. Guilt is universal. All have sinned in Adam. Grace precedes the act of faith, and is given, not because we believe, but proceeds from God that we may believe. But there are many to whom this grace is never communicated. They are not condemned by God to eternal punishment, but God has passed them by. They are therefore left out of God's saving plan, and will be eternally punished. Man can never fully explain, or even understand, this mystery of the divine decree to salvation and the passing of the rest of mankind. We can only say that God is sovereign, and what he does is right.

Augustine enforced his system by such an array of learning, such force of logic, and such skillful use of the Scriptures that his opinions gained a wide circulation and were adopted by many in every part of the Western Church. The Augustinian system has possessed a strange and remarkable vitality. At different periods of the Church it has come out of its retirement, assumed control of great minds, and begun a new period

¹ A comprehensive exposition of the views of Augustine, in his own language, will be found in J. F. Spalding, *The Teaching and Influence of Augustine* N. Y., 1886.

of great influence over vast portions of Christendom. It gave the starting point to the whole theological system of the Roman Catholic Church, whose great mediæval scholastics were his admirers and pupils.¹ It seems to have possessed a singular power in the formation of new and free States. It gained power over the English Church in one of its most vigorous periods. It gave character, through the pen of Calvin, to the Protestantism of western Switzerland, with Geneva as the center. It followed the course of the Rhine, at Heidelberg assumed control of the theology of the Palatinate, and became the foundation of the controlling theology of Holland, Scotland, and the New England colonists.

The strongest and purest champion for the freedom of the human will, as against the opinions of Augustine, was Pelagius, a monk of Britain. He early espoused the cause of synergism, holding that man is not guilty by nature, but that at birth he is innocent and has no inclination toward a vicious life. His mind is a blank, ready for whatever impressions are strongest. Leaving Britain for Rome, he began to teach his views in the latter city about A. D. 410. Celestius, a learned layman of Rome, adopted the opinions of Pelagius, and the two propagated their opinions in that center of thought with great industry and success. Pelagius made the masses the principal field for the propagation of his opinions, while Celestius aimed at the more cultivated people. The daily life of the two men was pure and commended itself to the confidence and admiration of the Church. In 411 they went to Africa, but Pelagius soon afterward set out for Palestine. Celestius became a presbyter. His opinions soon met with great opposition, and at a provincial synod held in Carthage in 412 he was excommunicated, through charges brought against him by Paulinus.

Pelagius found favor in Palestine, where he united his fortunes with the adherents of the opinions of Origen. At the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis (Lydda), A. D. 415, the views of Pelagius were carefully reviewed, with the

¹ A brilliant statement of the relation of the teaching of Augustine to the earlier Greek theology and the later Latin is Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, new ed., with new Pref., Bost., 1895, ch. ii. He shows clearly how all the main lines of the Roman system were drawn from Augustine. Spalding, though writing against Allen's praise of the earlier Greek theology and in disparagement of the gloomy and mechanical views of Augustine, does not deny this, but confirms it by showing their sacramentarian and churchly strain. Augustine anticipated the doctrines of the Tractarians. Schaff finely comments on the influence of Augustine in Catholicism and Protestantism, *Church History*, iii, 1018-1023.

advantage of his own explanations, and he was acquitted of heresy by both synods. In fact, the Greek Church found but little to criticise in Pelagius's emphasis on free will and personal responsibility; and his views on grace when explained by himself were more congenial to the Greek mind than were the exaggerated representations of Augustine. This justification of Pelagius by the two Eastern councils was confirmed by Pope Zosimus, 417, 418, who, after a formal hearing of the case, pronounced Pelagius a man of unimpeachable orthodoxy, 417. But in due time there arose opposition to him. The previous pope, Innocent I, had condemned him in strong language, and after the great African council of 418 Zosimus became alarmed and joined in the voices against Pelagius.

The synod of Carthage, A. D. 416, condemned Pelagius, and this conclusion was affirmed by a synod held in the same year at Mileum, in Numidia, and by a full council of the African Church in Carthage in 418. The general tendency in the Church, both East and West, was now unfavorable to Pelagianism. Nestorianism was coupled with it in popular disfavor. The ecumenical council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, condemned Nestorius, Pelagius, and Celestius, though without mentioning any heresies of Pelagius.¹ Important works were written against the

GENERAL
TENDENCY UN-
FAVORABLE TO
PELAGIUS.

¹ This condemnation by the third general council "seems to have been the result of an understanding between Cyril and the Bishop of Rome, by which Cyril anathematized the Latin heretic, while the pope gave his voice against the Greek heretic Nestorius."—Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 154, note. Wesley, with his accustomed candor and independence of judgment, rescued Pelagius from the common clamor, and believed that he stood for some valuable ideas. "I verily believe the real heresy of Pelagius was neither more nor less than this: The holding that Christians may, by the grace of God (not without it; that I take to be a mere slander) [in this Wesley was right. Pelagius certainly insisted on the necessity of the grace of God] 'go on to perfection;' or, in other words, 'fulfill the law of Christ.'"—Works, Lond. ed., vi, 328. "Who was Pelagius? By all I can pick up from ancient authors I guess he was both a wise and a holy man. But we know nothing but his name; for his writings are all destroyed; not one line of them left" (xii, 240). Wesley speaks hastily here. Pelagius's Ep. ad Demetr., Expos. in Ep. Pauli, and Libellus fidel ad Innocentiam, are printed in Martianay's ed. of the Works of Jerome, vol. v, Paris, 1706, 5 vols. The Libellus fidel was for a long time considered an orthodox work, and is quoted as such in the Libri Carolini, iii, l. Ince, art. Pelagius, in Smith and Wace, confirms Wesley in the above remark on grace. He says: "It may fairly be doubted whether the Pelagians intended wholly to deny grace in its stricter sense as an internal agency. Pelagius anathematized all who said that the grace of God was not necessary, not only every hour and every moment, but also in each single action. Julian [Bishop of Re-lanum, in Apulia, the disciple of Pelagius, who ably controverted Augustine] described the operations of grace as sanctifying, restraining, inciting, illuminat-

Pelagians. Augustine was by far the most active and skillful in his opposition, and his writings were powerful in causing the Church to abandon all Pelagian tendencies. But the Church in the East at no time adopted the extreme views of Augustine on election.

While the conclusions of the Western synods and councils were unfavorable to the Pelagians, there was a decided reaction in the Western Church against the extreme views of Augustine. The center of this milder type of Augustinianism was Massilia (Marseilles), in Gaul, where John Cassianus, and, later, his disciple, Vincentius, attacked the strict Augustinian doctrine. The latter claimed

MILDER TYPE
OF AUGUSTINI-
ANISM.

that Augustine was not at all a representative of the permanent doctrine of the Church, and that his theory of grace and the human will was partial, and should not be accepted. The opinions of Augustine were defended by Hilarius and Prosper Aquitanicus. At this juncture Aquitanicus died, A. D. 430, but after his death the conflict continued with varying success. Theodore of Mopsuestia, the greatest Greek theologian of the fifth century, severely censured Augustine, and charged him with bringing in novelties and dealing irreverently with God in asserting things which justice condemns and wise men reject.¹ It is thought by many that Vincent of Lerins was driving at Augustine's new views in his celebrated test of the true faith: that should be held for catholic truth which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all.² Judged by this standard, as Professor Allen says,³ the teaching of Augustine lacked each one of the three essential marks of truth. Even the synods were not harmonious in their action, those of Arles and Lyons, both A. D. 455, declaring in favor of the Semi-Pelagians, and those of Orange and Valencia, A. D. 529, condemning the Semi-Pelagians.

ing the human soul. This language implies more than creative grace; it speaks of grace assisting the created nature, and this by influences addressed not only to the intellectual faculties by instruction and illumination, but to the will and affections by incitement and restraint" (iv, 294). Here Ince agrees with Mozley, who thoroughly studied this controversy.

¹ See Gieseler, i, 339, note 36.

² *Commonitorium pro catholice fidei antiquitate et universitate*, c. 2. In Migne, L. 640. In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum sit. "A valuable criticism of the 'Quod ubique,' etc., may be found in Lowrie's *Cont. of Christian Matters of Opinion*, c. iv. The history of theology, however, is the best criticism upon this much-vaunted test of truth."—Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 162, note. There is grave reason to believe that it was this Vincent who wrote formal treatises against Augustine. See the question discussed by Cazenove, in Smith and Wace, iv, 1154-1158. It is said that Lerins was a nest of semi-Pelagianism.

³ *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 162.

But while the formal decrees were favorable to Augustinianism there was wonderful sympathy with certain modifications of his system. Prosper, while defending Augustine, had smoothed down some of the sharper points, while one of his opponents in an anonymous book, *Desire for Modifications of Augustine's Views.* *Prædestinatus*, presented a caricature of Augustinianism, and in this created distrust among the people. With the decrees of the councils, however, against the Semi-Pelagians, they were deprived of all aggressive power. The whole question now lost all popular interest, and remained without discussion until A. D. 847, when Gottschalk, a Saxon, espoused the cause of the Augustinian theology and carried it far beyond the limits to which Augustine had confined it.

The Donatist schism was one of the most violent movements of this entire period. It was confined to North Africa, and extended from A. D. 311 to 411. It turned upon the question of the purity of the Church. During the persecution under Diocletian many Christians accepted martyrdom with a fanatical spirit. They went farther than the mere refusal of all compromise of opinion, and fairly rushed into death. This voluntary martyrdom pervaded large portions of the North African Church. There were some wise teachers, such as Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, and the archdeacon Cæcilian, who arrayed themselves against this fanaticism. In the appeal of the civil authorities to surrender the Christian books they surrendered only the works which had been declared heretical. This was enough to bring upon them the reproaches of the fanatical Christians, who called them traitors, or traditores. Donatus, ordained bishop A. D. 313, became the great representative of the fanatics, and he pushed their cause with great zeal and ability. His success among the common people was very decided. They were laboring under the burden of heavy taxes, and appeared to think that in the views of Donatus they could see the truth. Constantine, the emperor, was not favorable to the Donatists, and his opposition culminated in the decision against them by the clerical commission convened at Rome, by his authority, A. D. 313. In the following year the Western synod of Arles reached the same hostile conclusion. *The Donatist Schism.*

In 316 the emperor heard representations from advocates of both parties at Milan, and also decided against the Donatists. At first Constantine adopted very rigid measures. He even went so far as to send the Donatist bishops into exile. But seeing that this vigorous course only led to more intense opposition he adopted a milder policy. But neither *Opposition to Constantine and Cæcilian, the Friends of the Donatists.*

course allayed the popular frenzy. Donatist preachers went through the country and excited the people by such powerful appeals as led to an open rebellion against the imperial power. Soldiers were now called in, who suppressed the revolt. Such churches as belonged to the Donatists were taken out of their possession or entirely closed against them. This oppressive policy was in force at the time of the death of Constantine, but Julian, who rejoiced in the internal dissensions of the Church and in the success of any disintegrating force, pursued a policy favorable to the Donatists. He gave them all the rights accorded to other Christians. But under his successor, Honorius, the former policy of persecution was resumed.

Augustine now entered the lists against the Donatists. At first he used mild measures to have them return to the Church. But his course was successful to only a limited degree. While some returned, the great body persistently refused to connect themselves with the Church again. The Carthage synod of A. D. 405 appealed to Honorius to force them to submission.¹ He oppressed them as forcibly as Constantine had done, and then summoned them to defend their tenets at a public disputation. This, the *Collatio cum Donatistis*, took place at Carthage A. D. 411. The Donatists were represented by nearly as many bishops as the orthodox, there being two hundred and eighty-six of the latter and two hundred and seventy-nine of the former. The imperial commissioner decided against the Donatists, and A. D. 415 the emperor declared that all who attended their services would do so on penalty of death. A peaceful understanding was reached on the invasion of North Africa by the Vandals, who persecuted all Homoeousian Christians with equal ferocity. But in the course of time the Donatists disappeared from ecclesiastical life. Like all other great movements which fail of their main object, it is safe to say that the effect of the Donatist schism was to give a stricter view of the purity of the individual member throughout the African Church, if not the entire Church of both West and East.

¹ In his earlier days as a Christian, Augustine nobly defended the principles of toleration. In *Joan. Ev. Tract.*, xxvi, 2. In later life he defended persecution. *Ep.* cxxxiii, clxxv. Spalding, *Teaching and Influence of St. Augustine*, pp. 49-51. See excellent remarks in Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, ii, 400-406; Neander, ii, 243-252.

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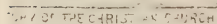
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AT THE REHABILITATION OF THE
WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER CHARLEMAGNE
800 A.D.



CHURCH HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

FROM CHARLES THE GREAT TO THE REFORMATION.

A. D. 768-1517.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

No period of the Church is without great significance and an important bearing on the preceding and subsequent times. There is often unity where, at first sight, we see nothing but disintegration. Even the distributing forces, like those in the material world, have their appointed methods, limitations, and affinities, and are subject to the very same general laws as the combining and productive ones. The laws of cohesion and gravitation, for example, which to the tyro in natural science seem to be opposites, are, to the acuter eye, only different operations of one law. The Middle Ages have been regarded by the Protestant world, until recently, as a long period of unrelieved intellectual stagnation, and often of almost hopeless retrogression. We find protracted theological discussions from which there seems for the time to be no normal and promising outcome; the moral and religious life of the Church morbidly seeking reformation in retirement from the face and problems of society; a new faith, born in dreams and bred in blood, planting itself on one half the territory of Christendom; great expeditions, equally prodigal of life and treasure, fitted out for the bare purpose of rescuing the tomb of Christ from the Moslem; and, amidst all this, the spiritual rulers of the most hopeful part of the Christian world amassing to themselves prerogatives that belong only to God and claiming equal jurisdiction over the prince and his subject.

But this is not a chaotic scene. There is an order which can only be properly estimated by a broad view of the centuries and comparing the beginning with the end. As no stream can be correctly judged by a quicksand here, a rapid there, or the placid waters which some friendly recess in the bank has invited to its repose, so in the current of history we are never safe in taking a glance

at a single section of its flow and making that the standard for our generalizations. Ranke says: "If the book of history lay open to our view in its authentic reality, if the fleeting forms of speech stood before us in the durability of the works of nature, how often should we discover in the former, as well as in the latter, amidst the decay we mourn over, the fresh and quick germ!—how often behold life springing out of death! However we may deplore the contamination of spiritual things with things of earth, the corruption of the institutions of religion which we have just contemplated, yet, without these evils, the human mind could hardly have received one of its most remarkable impulses—an impulse leading to vast and permanent results."¹

Lightfoot says: "To those who take a comprehensive view of the progress of Christianity even the more lasting obscurations of the truth will present no serious difficulty. They will not suffer themselves to be blinded thereby to the true nobility of ecclesiastical history; they will not fail to see that, even in the season of her deepest degradation, the Church was still the regenerator of society, the upholder of right principle against selfish interest, the visible witness of the invisible God; they will thankfully confess that, notwithstanding the pride and selfishness and dishonor of individual rulers, notwithstanding the imperfections and errors of special institutions and developments, yet, in her continuous history, the divine promise has been signally realized, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"²

The Middle Ages occupy an important place in history, and had an important mission. They mark the passage of the world from the pagan to the Protestant age. "This whole period," says Baur, "can only be regarded by the observer as one of transition, at the close of which the varied elements which appear in different quarters concentrate into unity, and thus show forth the Church of the Middle Ages in the full significance of their universal grandeur."³ And just because their character is purely transitional they present no complete forms of life. All the productions of the Middle Ages, whether in religion, science, or politics, bear the impress of a time of twofold character—of a time which laid the basis for a new age by the application of an old one.⁴ The ancient Church had performed

THE MIDDLE
AGES A PERIOD
OF TRANSITION.

¹ History of the Popes, 4th ed., Lond., 1866, vol. i, p. 41.

² The Christian Ministry, in Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, pp. 237, 238.

³ Die christl. Kirche des Mittelalters, 2d ed., Leipz., 1869, p. 6.

⁴ Comp. Niedner, Kirchengeschichte, pp. 387, 388; Stubbs, Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, pp. 238, 239.

its mission—the development of doctrine; the mediæval Church was now to develop the new nations that, having migrated from the East as tribes, had settled in central Europe, as if controlled by an impulse to come near the faith that was to change their character and make them the bearers of the Gospel to all lands; and the modern Church was to expose the vagaries of its predecessor by the reassertion of the primitive doctrine, and then to appropriate all the rich products of the reawakened intellect of Europe for the spiritual permeation of every social stratum and to make the whole world the recipient of its benign ministrations.

We find, further, that the Middle Ages, with all their apparent irregularity, did observe a certain progressive course. If we look at the low state of the Church in the seventh and eighth centuries we shall find that the bonds of political and social life were loosed, that morals were everywhere depraved, and that there was a universal destitution of culture and of the aspiration for it. But there arose afterward a purer moral sense, and with it a higher appreciation of political and intellectual life. Taking the single department of history as an illustration, the advancement is remarkable. “We are astonished,” says the writer ADVANCEMENT OF HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. who of all others in modern times has seen most clearly the historical relations of religious and secular interests, “when we note the difference between the historical productions of the eighth century and those of the former half of the ninth. Never has there been a greater progress in form. At the beginning of the eighth century the chronicles of the Frankish empire were monosyllabic and destitute of form, and in the successor of Fredegar we observe the roughness on the increase; but in the ninth century we find a beauty of expression which shows abundant traces of classical models.”¹

After the middle of the eleventh century a series of scientific inquiries began which no social disorders were able to interrupt. Monasticism, with all its misconceptions, preserved classical culture for permanent and universal use. Both Thomas SCIENTIFIC INQUIRIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY. Aquinas and Duns Scotus were mendicant monks. The climax of philosophical speculation was reached in the fourteenth century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the

¹ Ranke, *Schriften der Berliner Akademie*, 1854, p. 415; Giesbrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. i, 2d ed., p. 327; and Wattenberg, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen in Mittelalter*, pp. 66, 79. Comp. Barr, *Christliche Kirche des Mittelalters*, pp. 6, 7. Hatch has some excellent remarks on the eighth and ninth centuries as the turning point in the history of the world, in his *Introd. Lect. on the Study of Eccl. History*, Lond., 1885.

knightly poetry attained its highest forms of expression. It was in the thirteenth, likewise, that mediæval architecture culminated in a grandeur of conception and grace of proportion that have never been surpassed. Even the Crusades, notwithstanding their waste of blood and money, were the means of bearing to the East the treasures of the West, and, in the West itself, of creating a healthy restlessness and awakening new sympathies where sluggishness and stupor were the common temptation and a papacy greedy of gold was too much the representative of the Church. In the fourteenth century Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio composed works which will be read to the end of time. Meantime there was a process of political solidification going on. The bond of political unity was strengthened, and the disintegrating forces ceased in a measure as the Middle Ages drew to a close. Unity was secured in France by the fall of Burgundy, in England by the termination of the War of the Roses, and in Spain by the union of Castile and Aragon.

When the Reformation began we find that Germany and Spain and the Netherlands were under one head, but the forces which

PREPARATION
FOR THE REF-
ORMATION.

made this unity possible were in activity centuries before Luther burned the pope's bull under the elm at Wittenberg. As before the Christian era the conquests of Alexander had, by the distribution of the Greek tongue, made the promulgation of Christianity possible in the East, and at the beginning of the same era the unity of the Roman empire—every part of which was united to the capital by highways that have never been excelled—made its extension easy in the West, so did the Middle Ages prepare the very agencies which were to correct their own evils, and, by political unity and a popular love of liberty, to make an open door for the propagation of the revived truth. Christianity, indeed, is the only true solution of mediæval history—in fact, of all history.

Ritter says with great force: "Christianity became the bridge over which the civilization of the old world passed into the new. In the very vortex of the storms of political strife, sweeping to and fro, itself making and unmaking kingdoms, while every ancient thing was menaced with ruin, while the crude yet simple manners of the German conquerors ran wild in party strife, and barbarism threatened to break in everywhere, the Christian Church rescued at least the remnants of the early learning and art as the seeds of a later civilization, and held fast to the divine law both as the ideal of common life and for the highest good of humanity. Since that time it has always obtained that the beginning of every people and of every community within the circle of European civilization

has been marked by its reception of Christianity. Moreover, other nations of another religion during the Middle Ages and in the modern period have dwelt in Europe and ruled a part of it. Of these the Arabs and the Turks have been most distinguished for power. But they do not belong, and never did, to our common and customary manner of life. They have touched us as foreigners. Only as an irritant have they by great exertion wrought upon us. Some little of their character has come also as a leaven into our life. But we have never been able to acquire anything worthy the name of progress in common with them."¹

¹ Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, iii, 8, 2.

CHAPTER II.

PERIODS OF MÆDIEVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

THE exact limits of the Church in the Middle Ages have been variously assigned by both ecclesiastical and secular historians.

BOUNDARY
LINE OF THE
ANCIENT AND
MÆDIEVAL
PERIODS NOT
DEFINITE.

The close of the ancient and the beginning of the mediæval have ranged, according to the point of view of the observer, over a space of five centuries, or from the fourth century to the ninth. Even the close, concerning which there is a much nearer approach to unanimity, has been a matter of dispute. The remark of Ritter,¹ that "the Middle Ages terminate in each country with the appearance of a popular literature," is true only in part. The rise of humanism in Italy, the revival of letters in the countries north of the Alps, and the diffusion of intelligence among the people, form but one of the factors, and that by no means the most vital, in the great movement which culminated in the Reformation. The scattered threads of the eighth century were to be caught up and woven into a fabric of spiritual unity. The mission of the mediæval Church was to conduct humanity from the narrow limits of the pagan to the broad and elevated plane of the Protestant world; to sift out and preserve the best that remained of the ancient time and to pass it safely down for modern use.

Placing ourselves in the middle of the period beginning with the final conversion of the northern European nations, and ending with the German protest against papal enormities, we are able to see clearly, as we look backward, the transition of the Church from its apostolical and classical relations to its absorption by temporal interests, and, in looking forward, the passage of the Church out of the hands of its hierarchical authorities into the broader sphere of an enlightened public conscience.

The history of the mediæval Church has its general landmarks, which, if we contemplate the prevailing spirit of the age, are not difficult to recognize. The entire history is divided into three parts, as follows:

FIRST PERIOD.

From the emperor Charles the Great to the papacy of Gregory VII, A. D. 768-1073. The period of the appropriation and anti-

¹ Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, vol. iii. p. 24.

cation of the German and other northern elements; the growth of the Mohammedan counterforce to Christianity; and the rise and consolidation of the papal supremacy in Church and State.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the papacy of Gregory VII to the removal of the papal see into France, A. D. 1073-1305. The climacteric period of papal absolutism; of the organization and increase of monastic orders; of speculative science brought into the sphere of theological thought, or scholasticism, which was a direct product of the mediæval times and perished with them; and of the beginning of the Crusades.

THE THREE
PERIODS OF
THE MIDDLE
AGES.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the removal of the papal see into France to the Reformation, A. D. 1305-1517. The time of the internal and external division of the Church in its papal unity; of the loosening of its hold upon the popular mind; of the rise of humanism; and of the growth of a general desire for ecclesiastical and political liberty.¹

¹ For suggestive divisions, see Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theol.*, i, 112-116; Schaff, iv, 14.

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- * 8. Buchanan, T. R. *Art. Charles the Great*, in Smith and Wace.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

THE reign of the emperor Charles the Great was of such influence upon the interests of the Church that, while it began simultaneously with the commencement of the mediæval period, it did not terminate with that time, but has reached into modern history and affected the relations of Church and State in Europe down to the present century. He is one of the permanent characters in history. When, in the year 1165, the mortuary chapel in the great cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of his love and death, was opened for the second time in three hundred and fifty-one years, the body of the great ruler whom Paschal III had canonized was found sitting erect as a living monarch, clad in his imperial robes, with scepter in hand, the sword "*Joyeuse*" at his side, and the Frankish crown upon his fleshless brow. And the German conception of the founder and organizer of Teutonic greatness has ever been in harmony with this circumstance—not as of the dead, but of the living, *Karl der Grosse*, Charles the Great.

On the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768, he ascended the throne as inheritor of Austrasia, Neustria, and other portions of the eastern part of the Frankish empire, while his brother Carloman ruled over France and a large part of Germany, which constituted the western part of the empire. Carloman dying in 771, Charles took possession of the whole without regard to the rights of his deceased brother's family. From the moment of his assumption of supreme control he established a policy from which he never departed, and to which he made all his prerogatives and measures subservient. This was the combination of the theocratical idea with the monarchical. While he regarded himself as the civil ruler, his notion of his imperial functions extended to the sphere of religion and theology, and he felt that so far as these related to his government he was of right their supervisor and disposer. "The kings of Israel and Judah, and not the Roman ruler," says the prototypes, he imagined that he was rather a David, a Hezekiah, or a Josiah than a Caesar Augustus or even a Constantine.

But his attitude toward the Church and its spiritual head was friendly, nay, even fraternal. Never has a monarch, with, per-

haps, the exception of Queen Elizabeth of England, been at once more decided in personal convictions and yet more wise in concessions in the proper quarters and in the supreme moment. Toward the pope he acted with such unfailing respect and consideration that it seemed as if he were claiming nothing for himself, and yet all the while he was receiving from the pope such boons as strengthened his hold at once upon his subjects and the Church. Never have two opposing players solved with greater adroitness the problem of ever winning the same game than did Charles the Great and Leo III. Each gave what he could dispense with, while each received what was necessary to his personal interests. Charles's motto, "The Church teaches, but the emperor defends and increases," was as much the pope's as his own, while no papal ear before the time of Hildebrand could be offended by the Frankish ruler's candid statement to Leo III of their relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers, and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God as Moses did and to support my military service by your prayers."

This intimate relation between Charles the Great and the papacy was not altogether a novelty, but was an intensification of what had already obtained between the Frankish imperial house and the immediate predecessors of Leo III. A common interest had drawn these together, even before the birth of Charles, though, later, this alliance assumed a much wider scope and more attractive forms. Pope Zachary, by causing Pepin le Bref to be anointed as King of the Franks—whether by Boniface or not is not known—placed the Carolingian dynasty, of which Pepin was the founder, under perpetual obligation to the papacy. And it was an obligation which was promptly acknowledged and, with excellent memory, carried into practical effect. The Greek emperors were holding their possessions in Italy against the Lombards with a loose hand, and the popes, unable to secure from abroad proper protection against the devastations of the Lombards, implored the help of the Frankish rulers. Gregory III besought Charles Martel in vain to come to his aid against the King of the Lombards. According to the Lombard historian the ruler was a chaste, beneficent, and liberal-minded man. Subse-

¹ Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis acquandus.—Paul Diacon.

quently Stephen II proceeded on a personal visit to Pepin, at that time at the palace of Pontyon, in France, where he was treated with every mark of respect and gained the object of his laborious and hazardous journey, namely, the promise of the King of the Franks to defend him against the new Lombard leader, Astolph, who had crossed the confines of the exarchate, seized Ravenna, and besieged Rome. Having far less respect for the religious feelings of his enemies than Luitprand, Astolph dug up the dead bodies of the Roman saints that he might carry them off, not, it is true, as a mark of scorn, but for tutelary deities in his own Lombardy. Pepin defeated Astolph, and the latter promptly surrendered the whole of the contested territory to his conqueror. The Byzantine empire, to which it had belonged ever since the reign of Justinian, and which had ruled it by exarchs, sent ambassadors to demand its restitution—a requisition which Pepin refused on the ground that his sole object in the war was veneration for St. Peter.

Pepin, claiming the prerogative of the conqueror, gave the pope the entire territory of the exarchate, the Pentapolis (that is, the coast region extending from Rimini to Ancona), and the city of Comiacum.¹ Pepin made the pope the patrician of the exarchate, and himself the patrician of Rome.² The pope willingly accepted the boon without seeming to spend a thought upon the fact that it was an integral part of the

PEPIN'S GIFT
OF THE EXAR-
CHATE.

¹ The exact geography of the transfer is an undecided point in mediæval history, since the donative documents have been lost. From letters of Pope Stephen II and Paul I we learn that the territory comprised the cities of Faventia, Imola, and Ferraria, with their marshes and the lands and forests, Auximum, Ancona, and Numana, with their environs, and Bononia, so far as its limits extended. According to Baronius the region was much more extensive, comprising the cities of Ravenna, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Cesena, Senogallia, Æsium, Forum Pompili, Forum Livii cum Castro Sussubio, Mons Peretri, Acerragium, Mons Lucari, Serra Castellum sancti Mariani (Marini), Bobium, Urbinum, Cullium, Luceoli, Engubium, Comischium, and Narnia. Others make the donation still larger. The entire territory was about one hundred and fifty miles long and from sixty to eighty broad, extending back to the Apennines. Comp. Wiltseh, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 264.

² The patriciate, a dignity instituted by Constantine, was bestowed for life. The Patrician of Rome was properly governor of Rome, but could hold subordinate offices, and had the authority of a patrician. German kings refused the title from emperors. Gieseler, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 35, note 11. The Franciscan Pagi makes the patrician a lieutenant of the Church rather than of the empire. On the title and authority of this office comp. Ducange, *Gloss. Lat.*, tom. v, pp. 149-151; Pagi, *Critica*, A. D. 740, No. 6-11; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi, pp. 308-329; and St. Marc, *Abbrégé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tome i, pp. 379-382.

Byzantine empire.¹ The district thus formally transferred to the papacy was the first temporal possession of the popes of Rome, the founding of the States of the Church. The gift was made and accepted in defiance of all right; was later confirmed and extended in the same spirit; became the seed of innumerable ills to Christendom; and, after an existence of over eleven centuries, has at last come to an end in the present generation by the formal entrance of Victor Emmanuel into Rome and the adoption of the city as the capital of the kingdom amid the rejoicings of the long-enslaved people.

The donation to the papacy became seriously endangered subsequently to the death of Pepin by alliances between the Lombards and the Carolingian dynasties. Bertha, whose sons, Carloman and Charles, were the joint rulers of the Frankish empire, sought to strengthen their power by a combination with the Lombard kings, while, on the other hand, Desiderius, the new Lombard sovereign, successor to Astolph, was desirous of propping up, by similar alliances, his sovereignty, which for twenty years had been languishing between life and death.² His son Adelchis was betrothed to Giesela, the sister of the Frankish brothers, while Charles divorced his own wife, whose name is not preserved by history, to marry Hermingard, the daughter of the Lombard king. The papal possessions were now in great danger, according to all appearance, and Stephen III. was not slow in remonstrating against such an iniquitous alliance in such language as Milman says is "hardly to be equalled in pontifical diplomacy." The pope protested as follows:

"The devil alone could have suggested such a connection. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the fetid blood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land! What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion?"

¹ It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek emperor—probably through the emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks he desires to know what answer had been given to the silentiary commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*, no doubt, the iconoclastic opinions of the emperor), and keep her property secure (*omnia proprietatis sue*). Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 427.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Murray's Lond. ed., 1872, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith, vol. vi, p. 157; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 438, ff.

It was not on moral grounds, but on grounds of mere papal interest, that the remonstrance was made, as may be seen in every word. Charles, however, whose empire was still divided with his brother, had policy in view, for, in case of conflict with Carloman, he could reasonably expect the aid of the Lombards. So soon as his interests permitted he divorced Hermingard, sent her back to her father's court, and took to wife Hildegard, a Swabian princess. Carloman, who died in 771, left two sons, but their rights were ignored, and Charles became sole ruler over the Frankish empire. The old relations with the papacy, never interrupted, were once more friendly even to the public eye.

Desiderius, stung by the wrong done his daughter, excited by the threatening attitude of Charles, and espousing the cause of the two disinherited sons of Carloman, appealed for redress to Adrian I, the successor in the papacy to Stephen III, and invited a visit from him with the understanding that he should anoint Carloman's sons as Frankish kings. This being declined, and the pope refusing to dissolve his alliance with Charles, the Lombard king invaded his dominions and possessed himself of the territory acquired by Pepin. He sacked some cities of the Romagna, stripped the country of its wealth, perpetrated a massacre in the Tuscan town of Blera, and marched toward Rome. CHARLES'S WAR WITH THE LOMBARDS. Adrian I appealed to Charles for help. The response was prompt and direct. The first measure was pacific, in the double form of a request that Desiderius surrender to the pope the territory which he had captured but receive a large sum of money as an equivalent. Desiderius evaded any action, thinking that Charles was too much engaged with the Saxons in the north and with the consolidation of his own territory to follow up his verbal propositions by forcible measures. Here he mistook the temper of the Frankish ruler. Charles, with that promptness which characterized all his movements, held a council of war in Geneva, March, 773, and then, dividing his army into two bodies, led the one himself over the Mont Cenis pass of the Alps and gave the other in charge of his uncle Bernhard, who led it over the Mont St. Bernard pass. The Alps on the north and the strong walls of the Lombard capital, Pavia, were the defenses of Desiderius: but Charles, though suffering a temporary defeat by the troops of Aachen, the son of Desiderius, reached Pavia and began the siege of the city. The poet Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," draws a beautiful picture of the terror which the hosts of Charles the Great inspired as the Lombard king saw them approach from the southern declivity of the Alps. Desiderius, standing upon a Pavian

tower with Olger, the Dane, who had passed his youth as a hostage at the Frankish court, is represented as asking which is Charles as often as each new body of troops comes into view.

And Olger said :

"When you behold the harvests in the fields
Shaking with fear, the Po and the Ticino
Lashing the city walls with iron waves,
Then may you know that Charlemagne is come."
And even as he spake, in the northwest,
Lo ! there uprose a black and threatening cloud,
Out of whose bosom flashed the light of arms
Upon the people pent up in the city ;
A light more terrible than any darkness ;
And Charlemagne appeared—a man of iron !
His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
Of iron, and his breastplate and his greaves
And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
In his left hand he held an iron spear,
In his right hand his sword invincible.
The horse he rode on had the strength of iron
And color of iron. All who went before him,
Beside him, and behind him—his whole host—
Were armed with iron, and their hearts within them
Were stronger than the armor that they wore.
The fields and all the roads were filled with iron,
And points of iron glistened in the sun
And shed a terror through the city streets.
This at a single glance Olger the Dane
Saw from the tower, and, turning to the king,
Exclaimed in haste : " Behold ! this is the man
You looked for with such eagerness ! " and then
Fell as one dead at Desiderio's feet.

Charles immediately became master of all northern Italy except the cities of Pavia and Verona, which bravely resisted, but whose submission could only be a question of time. Leaving sufficient troops to continue the siege of Pavia, he proceeded in the holy week of 774 to Rome to confer and receive such honors as would cement anew the union between his dynasty and the papacy, or, if the Frankish annalist, Eginhard, be reliable, "to pray at St. Peter's tomb." His approach to the city was signalized by the rejoicings of the pope, the clergy, and all the inhabitants. Thirty thousand citizens, with the senate, the nobility, and the whole children, received him with flying colors, crosses, branches of palm and olive, and rapturous shouts. The conqueror dismounted on seeing the cross ; walked with his warriors, nobles, and courtiers through the city to the steps of the Vatican ; on his knees climbed the steps of St. Peter's, kiss-

ing them as he ascended, and at the top was received by the pope with affectionate embraces. They then proceeded together into the crypt where St. Peter's body is claimed by pious Romanists to lie, and there swore to each other indissoluble fraternity. On Wednesday, April 6, 774, he renewed, by virtue of his right as conqueror, his father's territorial donation to the papacy, and, to give the act peculiar solemnity, laid the document on the altar of St. Peter. This record, so important to papal interests, has long since disappeared, but its conditions are conceded to have been the termination of all claims of the Greek empire on the exarchate, and the confirmation and enlargement of the donation of Pepin.¹ Whether the gift was without limitation, or only a formal and feudal tenure, under certain circumstances reversible to the Frankish empire, has never been fully decided.² However this may be, the territory before long was universally conceded to be the unconditional property of the papacy, and was accordingly so governed, the popes assuming the dignity and demanding the recognitions of temporal sovereigns, the city of Rome alone sustaining a measure of independent government. The revenues, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed into the papal treasury.

Charles returned to Pavia and brought the siege to a triumphant close. Desiderius presented himself as a submissive penitent at the conqueror's camp, and Charles, after the usual rejoic- LOMBARDS
CONQUERED. ings and distribution of rewards to his soldiers, took with him the Lombard king and his wife, who ended their days in the cloister of Corby, while their son Adelhis escaped to Constantinople, where he hoped to regain the lost throne. Thus ended, as an independent power, the Lombard kingdom, which had been founded by Alboin on the banks of the Po; and Charles took to himself, in the years 774 and 775, the title of "King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome."³

¹ Protestant writers, and some Roman Catholics, claim, and with excellent grounds, that the donation was an enlargement of Pepin's. Wiltsh, the best authority on ecclesiastical geography, says: "Whether Charlemagne merely confirmed the Roman see in its former possessions, as some writers assume, or whether he added new ones to them, is a matter which, in my opinion, ought not to raise the slightest doubt, as the words of Adrian I, in his first and thirteenth letters to Charlemagne, speak most distinctly of cities of Tuscia, of Spoletum, Beneventum, Corsica, and Sabina."—*Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 265.

² For a careful examination of this question, with the views of conflicting writers, comp. Baxmann, *Politik der Päpste*, vol. i, pp. 276, 277.

³ Dollinger says: "Charlemagne never called himself King of Italy, but only King of the Lombards, but he was really King of Italy."—*Münch. Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1865, p. 329.

There were two more attempts to revive the Lombard kingdom by the arrest of the united power of the papacy and the Frankish ruler. A Lombard league, with Arigiso, the son-in-law of Desiderius, at its head, gained strength by the patronage of the Greek ruler and the schemes of Adelchis, and threatened to restore the old condition of things. But Charles the Great responded to the importunity of Adrian I, and, crossing the Alps again, subdued the foe, took as hostages the two sons of Arigiso, and required an annual tribute of seven thousand pieces of gold. The second struggle was the vain effort of Adelchis, who, while commanding a Greek force which had been fitted out by the direct order of Constantine, the Greek emperor, was deserted by his men and compelled to flee for safety.

Charles had already made three visits to Rome. Of the first, in 774, with its bearing on the future territorial possessions of the papacy, we have already spoken. The second and third, in the years 781 and 787, were hardly of less moment, each being characterized by great benefactions "for the good of his soul," and by equally great concessions from the pope. But the visit of the year 800 was by far the most significant.

Pope Adrian I, after a long reign of twenty-four years, had died in 795, and was succeeded by Leo III, whose election was a great surprise to the people and aroused a very strong opposition. He continued toward Charles the Great the friendly policy of his predecessor, and was prompt in sending to him as the recognized Patrician of Rome the standard of the city and the keys of both the city and the tomb of St. Peter. The hostility to Leo III culminated in the fourth year of his reign, on the ground of alleged irregularities and crimes, in the form of an attack by a band of armed men, who attempted to mutilate him, and only left him when life was nearly extinct. The pope was rescued, however, and finally recovered. His reign was nevertheless in danger; and while he had the sympathy of many, there were others who believed him a great offender. The presence and aid of Charles the Great were loudly called for in Rome; but the Frankish ruler, who at that time was holding his court in the German city of Paderborn, invited the pope, then a fugitive in Spoleto, to make him a visit. The reception was worthy of both host and guest. There were great rejoicings and much feasting. Each manifested to the other the recognitions becoming his official dignities. During the festivities charges against Leo III, in the name of the Roman people—*que a populo Romano ei obijciuntur*, as Eginhard relates—were preferred to Charles, who postponed all

CHARLES'S
FOURTH VISIT
TO ROME.

final adjudication until he might himself visit Rome. Leo III, attended by an escort of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, returned to Rome, not only without opposition, but amid general rejoicings, for it was clear to all that he had the sympathy of Charles, and would most likely profit by his future decision. It seems that Charles had some object in view in starting for Italy far more important than a mere quarrel of the pope with his rivals and enemies. He seems to have surrounded every movement with an air of unusual solemnity, and to have proceeded with a slowness quite new to him. He went first to Rouen and then to the city of Tours, already renowned in Carolingian history, where he worshiped at the shrine of St. Martin and received at the hands of Aleuin, his faithful friend, a copy of the Bible, with corrections by the learned abbot himself. He thence again crossed France to the Rhine and held a diet at Mayence. It was only in the following year, 800, and toward the end of it, that he went southward to Rome. He was met by Leo III at Nomento, where they took breakfast together and the most cordial salutations were exchanged. Then the pope returned to the city, that he might give official sanction to the popular demonstration. On the next day, November 24, Leo III, surrounded by a great array of clergy, received him with all the honors due a king and conqueror amid the singing of psalms and general rejoicings. For seven days the Frankish ruler, acting the part of judge, and surrounded by the clergy from far and near, the Roman civil dignitaries, and his own Frankish counselors and chiefs, held a solemn synod in St. Peter's Church. The two plaintiffs, Paschalis and Campulus, were requested to prove their chargés against Leo III. They were silent, only excusing themselves on the ground of reverence for the office rather than the person of the pope.¹ Charles rendered his decision, which could be only favorable to Leo III, whereupon the latter made a public declaration of his innocence in the following language:

CHARLES RE-
CEIVED BY
LEO III.

"I, Leo, pontiff of the holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God, who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter, in whose presence we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated, the wicked deeds of which I had been accused. This I call God to witness, whose

¹ According to the Book of the Popes, they said: "We do not venture to condemn the apostolic see, the head of all the Churches of God, for by it and its representatives we shall all be judged; but it shall be judged by no man."

judgment we must all undergo; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself."

There was now performed an act toward which both the victories of Charles the Great and the relations of the papacy to the Carolingian dynasty had been steadily tending for years, and which was destined to affect alike the ecclesiastical and secular history of the civilized world down to modern times. It was on Christmas Day, 800, or, according to the reckoning then in use in the West, the first day of the year 801. Charles, the members of his great court, the nobility of Rome, a multitude of private citizens, and the clergy from Italy and distant parts of the known world were present in St. Peter's, and the now exculpated Leo III performed in person the high mass in commemoration of the nativity of the Redeemer. The scene was one of great splendor, and such as Rome, wont to be splendid alike in her miseries and her joys, had not witnessed since the days of the Cæsars. The pope's voice fell; its cadences died away in the distant recesses of St. Peter's, and the vast multitude were mute and motionless. Amid the pause Leo III advanced toward his royal visitor, bearing a magnificent crown, which he placed upon Charles's head, saying: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor."¹ The multitude shouted their acclamations, and the pope, who was the first to bow the knee as subject to the emperor, concluded his act by anointing Charles, and then his son Pepin, with the holy oil of imperial consecration.

What, now, was the meaning of this papal conferring of imperial dignities? Far more than the outward circumstances, brilliant as they were, would seem to indicate. Charles affected to be surprised, and Eginhard, his secretary, wrote that the displeasure of the Frankish monarch at the act was very great, and that such a desecration of the place and the occasion would not have been tolerated if he had known of the pope's design; nevertheless, that he bore the contumacy "with great patience."² The affair was, in all probability, a fine piece of stage effect. Never was a public surprise more carefully prearranged. Without doubt it had been adroitly concerted over the winecups at Paderborn; for every step

¹ Anast. 199: "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria."

² Insidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientia, victique eorum contumaciam magnanimitate. Vit. Kar., xxvii.

that the king and pope had taken since the papal visit to Germany had been tending that way, and is only explicable by the consummation in St. Peter's. It was the climax of tedious, careful, unwearied good management on both sides.

The coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III was, on the one hand, an affair of unblushing arrogance in the pope, for it claimed the necessity as well as right of papal consecration to imperial honors; but then, on the other, it was the selection and endowment, with all the traditional sanctities of the Church, of one man, with his family after him, as the fit and legitimate successors to the throne of the Cæsars. It is difficult to say which, king or pope, was the greater gainer by the act. Both profited beyond computation; and yet the historian is seldom so fortunate in tracing evils to a positive and direct source as in ascribing the oppressions of the papal see, the arrogation of rights never contemplated in the early Church to spiritual guides, gross immorality in both clergy and laity, and all this for many centuries, to the coronation of Charles the Great, and the anointing which immediately followed, at the hands of Leo III. The new emperor, in recognition of his changed relation, laid aside his barbarian costume, and clad himself in the tunic, chlamys, and sandals of the Roman.¹ The whole Western empire was now under one mighty ruler, while the papacy, with Rome as the ecclesiastical metropolis of Latin Christendom, was supplied with complete and perpetual guarantees to territorial ownership. The bonds of emperor and pope were now intimate as never before; and as Leo III gave the new-crowned Charles his final embrace and lost sight of his splendid escort behind the outlying hills of the Campagna, each, for himself and his successors, entered upon a different career, and a new chapter in mediæval history and European civilization was introduced.

¹ Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 459, ff.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL RELATION OF THE CIVIL TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL
AUTHORITY DURING THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD.

WHILE the immediate effect of the reciprocal approach of Charles the Great and the papacy was to give to the latter both territory and influence, and to the former the sanction of the Church to his dynasty and general policy, there was no disposition on the part of the Frankish ruler, though now endowed at the hands of a pope with all the prerogatives of Roman patrician and emperor, to sacrifice any of his rights as the ecclesiastic head of his empire. But this was no new relation. Charles the Great was only pursuing the same policy that was marked out by the first Christian emperor, and continued, though with less consistency and capacity, by his successors. Constantine, as much after as before his conversion to Christianity, never once thought of renouncing a tittle of his imperial authority. Justinian was equally far removed from compromising with any spiritual ruler, and so defined the supremacy of the imperial sovereign in all matters of government, whether temporal or spiritual.¹

How completely the Church was governed by civil rulers may be seen in the subordination of the ecclesiastical councils to their authority. These bodies, convened not only to regulate the internal polity and discipline of the Church, but for the august determination of its fundamental doctrines, were as much a part of the machinery of the State as the privy imperial council. The decrees, though believed to be reached only by special direction of the Holy Spirit, were not valid until indorsed by the civil head. Count Dionysius, the commissioner of the emperor Constantine, told the Catholic bishops, who appealed to him on the Arian question, at the council of Tyre, in 335, that he must reserve for his master the final decision of the case, as it was his province to legislate upon all matters relating to the Church and its members.² A rescript of Theodosius II and Valentinian III

¹ His language is unequivocal: "Sed et quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem, cum, lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omnem imperium suum et potestatem concedat."—Institt. I, ii, 6.

² Concil. Tyrium, ann. 335, Hardouin, i, 543; Lea, Studies in Church History, pp. 13, ff.



SEPT 75

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